

90175

CONTENTS.

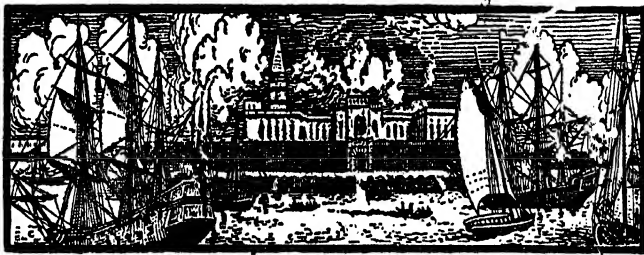
LIST OF ARTICLES.

	PAGE.
I. THE "EMBASSY OF HYDERBECK." ...	1
II. WHO WAS "ASIATICUS"? BY C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.	3
III. THE "MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM HICKEY": BY DR. T. O. D. DUNN, M.A., D. LITT.	15
IV. HICKEY'S HOUSES IN CALCUTTA.	31
V. MEMOIRS OF DUM-DUM.	35
VI. OVERLAND TO INDIA IN 1838.	41
VII. SELECTIONS FROM THE CALCUTTA PRESS: 1826—1833.	44
VIII. THREE DAYS AT THE BANDEL CONVENT IN 1920: BY THE REV. FATHER H. HOSTEN, S.J.	60
IX. HISTORICAL RECORDS IN THE MYMENSINGH COLLECTORATE: BY JAMINI MOHAN GHOSH.	79
X. THE "JAMES AND MARY."	83
XI. "POTT'S FOLLY" AT CULPEE.	91
XII. THE DANIELLS IN INDIA.	93
XIII. THE "COMPANY'S EUROPEANS": BY H. HOBBS.	95
XIV. A TRIP TO BENGAL IN 1802: NOTE ON THE "PERSIAN SONG": BY S. KHUDA BAKHSH, M.A., B.C.L.	98
XV. OUR LIBRARY TABLE.	99
XVI. THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK.	104
XVII. AN ADVENTURER IN BENGAL IN 1712.	113
XVIII. NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF MANIPUR: BY A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, M.A.	133
XIX. BAPTISMS IN CALCUTTA: 1778 TO 1782.	142
XX. THE FARINGTON DIARY: MORE GLIMPSES INTO FORGOTTEN INDIA.	169
XXI. PETER MOORE: GUARDIAN OF THACKERAY AND FRIEND OF SHERIDAN.	180
XXII. THE BARWELL FAMILY.	184
XXIII. A LETTER OF THOMAS DANIELL, 1793.	188
XXIV. MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DUTT AND HIS ANGLO-INDIAN WIVES: BY H. W. B. MORENO.	191
XXV. THE BUDDHIST MONASTERY AT GHOOSERY.	195
XXVI. OUR LIBRARY TABLE.	198
XXVIII. THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK.	201

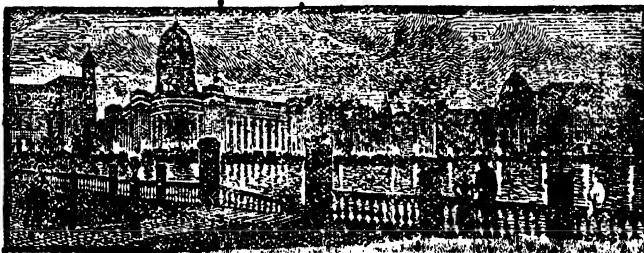
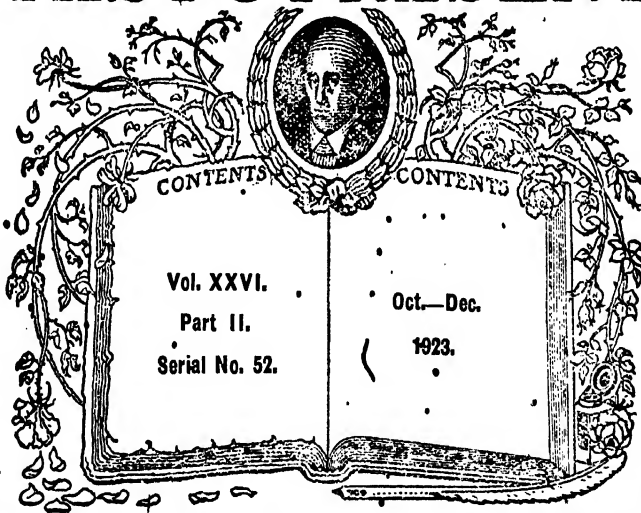
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	TO THE PAGE.
1. THE "EMBASSY OF HYDERBECK": BY JOHN ZOFFANY, R.A. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. FRANCIS EDWARDS.) ... ..	...
2. THE "NEW COURT HOUSE WITH MUSSALMANS PROCEEDING TO THE RIVER TO WORSHIP THE GODS OF THE WATERS," 1787. (FROM THOMAS DANIELL'S "TWELVE VIEWS OF CALCUTTA.")	13
3. THE COUNCIL HOUSE AND ESPLANADE WEST, 1788. (FROM THOMAS DANIELL'S "TWELVE VIEWS OF CALCUTTA.")	31
4. THE CONVENT AT BANDEL: EASTERN FRONT.	60
5. WESTERN GATE OF THE CONVENT: WITH THE DATE 1599.	70
6. EASTERN CORRIDOR OF THE CONVENT: (SHOWING THE FORMER CELLS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN FATHERS AND THE PRIOR'S ROOM AT THE END.)	70
7. JOHN THORNTON'S CHART OF THE HUGHLEY AND BAY OF BENGAL: (REDUCED FROM THE 1703 EDITION OF THE "ENGLISH PILOT.")	113
8. PLAN OF HUGHLI BANDER: 1765. (FROM FATHER JOSEPH TIEFFENTHALER'S "DESCRIPTION DE L'INDE.")	126
9. FORT WILLIAM AT BENGALL; ABOUT 1730. (FROM AN ENGRAVING BY G. VANDERGUCHT: "PAINTED AND DELINEATED BY GEORGE LAMBERT AND SAMUEL SCOTT.")	132
10. PETER MOORE. (FROM A PORTRAIT BY T. GAINSBOROUGH, R.A.)	180
11. A LETTER OF THOMAS DANIELL, 1793. (FORT SAINT GEORGE CONSULTATIONS: VOL. CLXXI: FROM A PHOTOGRAPH PRESENTED BY HIS EXCELLENCY LORD WILLINGDON, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.)	188
2. "POTT'S FOLLY" AT CULPEE: MANO BIBIR GHOR. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MR. F. W. SHAW, OFFICIATING DEPUTY CHIEF ENGINEER, CALCUTTA FORT TRUST.)	201





BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONTENTS.

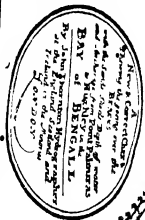
LIST OF ARTICLES.

I.	AN ADVENTURER IN BENGAL, IN 1712 ...	113
II.	NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF MANIPUR : BY A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, M.A. ...	133
III.	BAPTISMS IN CALCUTTA, 1778 TO 1782 ...	142
IV.	THE FARINGTON DIARY : MORE GLIMPSES INTO FORGOTTEN INDIA. ...	169
V.	PETER MOORE : GUARDIAN OF THACKERAY AND FRIEND OF SHERIDAN. ...	180
VI.	THE BARWELL FAMILY. ...	184
VII.	A LETTER OF THOMAS DANIELL : 1793. ...	188
VIII.	MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DUTT AND HIS ANGLO-INDIAN WIVES : BY H. W. B. MORENO. ...	191
IX.	THE BUDDHIST MONASTERY AT GHOOSERY. ...	195
X.	OUR LIBRARY TABLE. ...	198
XI.	THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK. ...	201

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

TO FACE PAGE.

1.	JOHN THORNTON'S CHART OF THE HUGHLEY AND BAY OF BENGAL : (REDUCED FROM THE 1703 EDITION OF THE "ENGLISH PILOT.") ...	113
2.	PLAN OF HUGHLI BANDER : 1765. (FROM FATHER JOSEPH TIEFFENTHALER'S "DESCRIPTION DE L'INDE.") ...	126
3.	FORT WILLIAM AT BENGALL; ABOUT 1730. (FROM AN ENGRAVING BY G. VANDERGUCHT : "PAINTED AND DELINEATED BY GEORGE LAMBERT AND SAMUEL SCOTT.") ...	132
4.	PETER MOORE. (FROM A PORTRAIT BY T. GAINSBOROUGH, R.A.) ...	180
5.	A LETTER OF THOMAS DANIELL, 1793. (FORT SAINT GEORGE CONSULTATIONS : VOL. CLXXI : FROM A PHOTOGRAPH PRESENTED BY HIS EXCELLENCY LORD WILLINGDON, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.) ...	188
6.	"POTT'S FOLLY" AT CULPÉE : MANO BIBIR GHOR. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MR. F. W. SHAW, OFFICIATING DEPUTY CHIEF ENGINEER, CALCUTTA PORT TRUST.) ...	201



(Reduced from the 1763 Edition of "The English Pilot.")

An Adventurer in Bengal in 1712

IN the Orme collection of Manuscripts at the India Office (Vol. IX pp. 2159—2174) there may be seen a paper entitled "The Adventures of a person unknown who came to Calcutta in the Government of Mr. Russell and went to the Moors then fighting at Hughley." Certain extracts are quoted in the second volume of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's "Early Annals of the English in Bengal": but the whole document is so entertaining and instructive that it is well worth reprinting. A careful transcript has been made by Miss L. M. Anstey, and it is given below.

The earlier portion of the narrative contains many interesting details regarding the navigation of the Hooghly, and may profitably be studied along with John Thornton's "New and Correct Chart shewing the Bays with the Sands Shoals Depth of Water and Anchorage from Point Palmiras to Hughly in the Bay of Bengal," which is appended to the 1703 edition of the "English Pilot." This map, of which a reproduction on half the original scale will be found on the opposite page, forms one of the illustrations to the third volume of Sir Henry Yule's edition of Hedges' Diary (Hakluyt Society, 1889). It will be noticed that it is divided into two sections. Great assistance in identifying the various landmarks mentioned in the narrative has been derived from Mr. R. J. Barlow's notes on early river topography which form so valuable a feature of the same work (Vol. III, pp. ccvii to ccxx).

The second part opens with "Some Account of Calcutta and the Danes Factory at Gundullparra." This is followed by a lively history of "Disturbances at Hughley among the Moors," and a description of the "Chinchura," Hughley, "Golgutt, the English Factory at Hughley," and "the Bandell."

For Governor John Russell, see the article on "Chequers Court and Calcutta" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 155 to 158.

The abrupt ending of the narrative will be noticed. There is no sequel to be found in the Orme MSS. and no indication is given of the identity of the "Adventurer," or of the manner in which the document came into Orme's possession. The writing is that of the copyist who transcribed all the volumes of MSS. known as India I, II, and so forth: and neither a second copy nor the original appears in the other series of papers known as O. V. which contain original or second copies of certain of the MSS.

H. E. A. C.

*Adventures of a person unknown who came to Calcutta
in the Government of Mr. Russell
and went to the Moors then
fighting at Hughley.*

[2159] The 26th [November, 1712] being clear we had sight of the low land and the pap of Banja (1) making in two round hommocks of no extraordinary altitude bearing N at 12 had sight of a Porger (2) Up the River. standing over the braces (3) to the westward, but came to an anchor on the latter end of the Ebb.

At 2 we weighed with the tide of flood and wind at SWBS, steering N and NBE and NE little or no wind which obliged us to get the long boat a head and give her a tow our water, we deepened to $3\frac{1}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4; at nine we anchored in the little Swatch (4) in $4\frac{1}{4}$ we saw several fishing boats on the brace to the number of 25 or 30, the winds hung so much in the N Eastern quarter that compell'd us to desist from passing over the other Brace (5) being forc'd to take our passage to the northward through the Junery channel (6); Friday the 28th were abreast of the Barrabullas (7) the land being low and even with some trees scattering, to the northward of which is the opening of Ingaley river being bounded on the opposite side by an island of the same name (8): the opening is indifferent broad, and a good channel up to the town.

We keep turning up with the flood the wind being at N and by eight were abreast of the buoy on the Barrabulla head; we shot up still to the north-

(1) The "paps of Banja" are shown in Thornton's Chart of 1703 as lying on the left hand shore just above the "river Bitcool" (Beercool).

(2) *Porger*—otherwise *porgo*: probably a corruption of the Portuguese word *barca* or *barco*, which was the term used for any kind of sailing boat by early Portuguese visitors to the East: cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *porgo*. In a MS account by T. B. [ateinan] quoted by Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam* (p. 266: 1669): we find the following: "A Purgoo; These Vae for the most part between Hugly and Pyplo and Ballasore; with these boats they carry goods into Ye Roads on board English and Dutch ships, they will live a long time in ye sea, being brought to anchor by ye Sterne, as there Vusual way is."

(3) The "Western or Outer Braces" are shown in Thornton's Chart as a large sandbank, projecting from the coast just by the "paps of Banja."

(4) *The Little Swatch*: "The Swatch of No Ground" lay just off the delta. It is described by Fergusson in his paper on Recent Changes in the Delta of the Ganges (*Quarterly Journal Geol. Soc.* August 1863) as "a great depression or hole in the middle of the Bay of Bengal." Thornton's Chart does not give it; unless it be indicated as "The Little Bason" and "The Great Bason." There is a similar "Swatch" off the delta of the Indus.

(5) *The Other Brace*—The Eastern or Inner Braces.

(6) *The Junery Channel*—This is not to be found in Thornton's Chart: and there is no mention of it in Mr. Barlow's notes.

(7) *The Barrabullas*—These sands are not shown on the modern Survey Map. But John Ritchie's map of 1770 places them in lat. 21° 40' between Saugor island and the western shore. They are marked on Thornton's chart, which also gives "Kitesall or Barabulla Trees" on the western shore. (Kitesall or Kittysol = umbrella).

(8) *Ingaley river and island*: shown as "Kedgelie" in Thornton's Chart. The modern Hijli in Midnapore district. The "Long Wood" is duly marked, just at the entrance to the "Kedgelie" or Rasoolpoor river.

ward, and at 9 came to an anchor off the long wood on Ingaley island in 5 fathom having the buoy on the middle ground in sight bearing NEBE. two leagues.

The wind standing still at N at 4 post meridian we weighed but were hardly under sail ere we made a ship at an anchor being N $\frac{1}{2}$ E Dist: two leagues, by 5 were abreast of Kedgery river (9), it appears indifferent broad with two low points at its entrance Vizt. Ingaley and Kedgerey islands, when you have brought this point to bear NE then you are out of the buoy on the long sand in 5 and 6 fathom water; off the mouth of this river lieth Cuckolley sand (10) about two miles in length, it appears dry at low water, between which and Ingaley island is a good channel in 5 and 6 fathom water.

By eight we were up with the ship and making about an hour's sail more to the northward, when we anchored in 4 fathoms; we sent our boat on board her, as did they likewise a Willock (11) to us; she proved an Armenian by name St. Pedro, bound to Fort St. George, Cojey Surratt (12) a merchant and prime factor of that nation resident in Calcutta, paid us a visit in the aforesaid Willock and brought with him his musick consisting of a Georgian violin, two small Kettle drums and the like number of Hautboys with which he entertained us; the instruments were costly and of curious workmanship, to the violin the drums were added in concert, assisted with the voice of the musicians, whose ill tun'd notes and imperfect cadence made most lamentable discord.

[2160] When they had sufficiently persecuted our ears with this melodious piece of concise harmony, the hautboys went to work; one running up to the pitch of double Gamut whilst the other served as a drone, they playing upon them with such vehemency and force, which beating upon the drum of my ear so benumm'd my senses that I could hear nothing than the

(9) *Kedgery river and island*: The modern Kedgerec.

(10) *Cuckolley sand*—Cowcolly (Geonkhali).

(11) "Willock" or "Woolock" was a species of boat. It is mentioned in Hedges' Diary (1683: Vol. I. p. 76) where it is spelled "Olock." Colesworthy Grant gives a drawing of one in his *Rural Life in Bengal* (p. 25) and calls it "the bulky Oolak, or baggage boat of Bengal."

(12) *Khojah Israel Serhaud* was the nephew of Khoja Phanoos Calandar, an Armenian merchant of Ispahan who obtained a trade charter from the East India Company in 1688, and also permission to erect a church "in any garrison cities or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies." In the cemetery attached to the Armenian Church of St. Nazareth in Calcutta is the tombstone (discovered in 1894 by Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth) of "Rezabeebeh, the wife of the late charitable Sookens," who died on July 11, 1630: so that the Armenian settlement in Calcutta must have been long antecedent to the arrival of Job Charnock in 1690. Khojah Serhaud was instrumental in securing for the English from Azim-us-shan, the grandson of Aurungzebe, in 1698, permission to rent the three villages of Govindpore, Suttanuttee and Calcutta, for a payment of Rs. 16,000 annually. He also accompanied John Surman's mission to Delhi as interpreter in 1715. William Hamilton, "Chyrurgeon," was also of the party and died at Calcutta, after his return, on December 4, 1717. "His Memory," says his tombstone in St. John's Churchyard, "ought to be dear to this Nation, for the credit he gained Ye English in curing Ferruckseer, ye present king of Indostan, of a Malignant Distemper": for his fee was the "Grand Firman" which confirmed the purchase of the three villages.

discharge of a demi culverin; they kept us up pretty late, and about 2 in the morning returned aboard their ship in order to proceed on their voyage.

Saturday the 29th of November we weigh'd with the morning flood, and stood Thwart the river EBN on the back of the Gillingam (13) in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathom and $\frac{1}{4}$ leaving the buoy on our star-board, by seven came up with Channel Creek or Jesora river, (14) it hath a wide open mouth being a good channel down to Chittygong, the shores on each side being a wilderness of trees; on its northern shore is a strong rippling, which whether occasion'd by a shelf, or the meeting of two tides I am not certain; here we pass'd two sloops at anchor, the one a Dutch, the other French.

We turned up the channel having from eight fathom to two and a foot 'till we came the length of Rangafulla, (15) where at eleven we came to an anchor the flood being spent; here we found lying' the Mary and Darby two Company's ships bound for Europe.

The tide coming in at seven we weighed and shot up to the northward to pass the narrows of Gillingam, but when we came the length of Rangafulla river, the meeting of the two tides shot us full ashore on the northern point; it proved a steep bank we having 4 fathom on our larboard side and but two feet in the main chains of our starboard; we were now got into the woods, the trees hanging as thick within board and over our heads as if we were in an arbour, one great tree more especially under our keel about midships on which she sat.

We were now in hurry and confusion, fearing as the tide fell she would overset she heeling pretty well to port; we got out long spars of wood to tend her off, but it would not do, she having the shore so close aboard that you might have stepp'd on shore without so much as being wetshod.

When the hurry was pretty well over the Captain advised to fire guns as in distress, that the Mary and Darby's boats might come to our assistance, they lying within hear; but the pilot was for heaving her off ourselves and having the advantage of a fine moon light night we got our stream anchor and cable into the long boat, and carried it out on our quarter, and having well mann'd the Capstern soon hove her off.

The river is large and navigable; boats going down by this stream to Chitigong as well as by the former, it flowing from the sea upwards; we presently shot clear up the channel till [2161'] about 9 when we past the Kent lying at an anchor, off Roages river (16) and half an hour after anchored in

(13) *The Gillingam Sand or Grand Middle Ground lies just above Kedgereë in the centre of the channel. Mr. Barlow conjectures Gillingam or Gillingham to be a corruption of "Jilinga."

(14) Channel Creek or Jesora river—on the eastern shore is still known by the former name.

(15) Rangafulla: a creek on the eastern bank: "The Tengra Creek above the existing Rangafulla Obelisk is still considerable enough for boats" (Barlow, 1887).

(16) "Rogae's River" was the name given by Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to one of the Sunderbund channels joining the lower Hooghly river from the eastward. It was so-called from the Arakan rovers, sometimes Portuguese and sometimes

7 fathom water; next morning at six came to sail, working up the channel on the starboard side of the Diamond sand in 8, 10, 12, and 13 fathom water; then shoaling to 4 and 5 we pass'd Cuckold's point (17) and by 12 were up with the Danes town, (18) a few scattering hovels, then past Tomberlee (19) lying on the So. side of a river of that name, by others Ganges, opposite to which lieth Hughley Point, and in the fare way a sand called the James and Mary, of which ships ought to be careful (20).

Thus having pass'd the most remarkable dangers of which care ought to be taken to avoid them, we continued tiding it up nothing of note occurring till we came the length of Tana, (21) a great town on the larboard side of the river, having for its defence a large brick fort to the river, with four round bulwarks; through the embrasures of which look'd 4 or 5 iron culverins, tho' what store of guns they have to the land board I am not certain.

Muggs from Chittagong, whose ships lay in the creek and watched for plunder. Mr. Barlow observes: "The name 'River of Rogues' seems to have varied in specific application: sometimes given to a channel near Rangafulla, sometimes, perhaps, to Channel Creek, to Culpee Creek, or even to Chingri Khal." After careful comparison of all the references and of old and modern charts, Yule and Burnell (Hobson-Jobson) have come to the conclusion that the "Rogue's River" should be located at what is now called Chingri, Khal, entering the river immediately below Diamond Harbour, or else at Culpee Creek, about six miles lower down. Capt. Alex. Hamilton (1727) describes "the first safe anchoring place" as "lying off the mouth of a River about 12 leagues above Sagor, commonly known by the name of Rogues River." Thornton calls it "R. Theves."

(17) *Cuckold's Point*—on the western shore: corresponding with the "Luff's Point" of modern charts (Barlow).

(18) *The Danes Town*: or *Deans Town*: on the western shore: not shown on Thornton's chart: but cf. Alex. Hamilton (1727, Vol. II, p. 3): "A little below the mouth of it (Ganga or Tumlook river) the Danes have a thatcht House, but for what Reasons. . . . I never could learn." Mr. Barlow, who identifies "Deans Sand" as identical with the modern Hooghly Sand, quotes as follows from Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records*: "Consultation, Decr. 21, 1749. Received a letter from Capt. George Minchin, dated the 19th instant, from Deans Town, importing that he should distress the Morattoes to the utmost of his power, as he looked on the sloops to be in a state of defence sufficient to secure the men from the shot of the Morattoes: he intended to bring them close to the shore."

(19) *Tomberlee*—a corruption of Tumlook (the ancient port of Tamralipti) on the western shore. Alex. Hamilton calls the river which is now known as the Rupnarayan, "Ganga." It is shown as "R. Tomberlie" in Thornton's chart, with "Gonga Colle" (Geonkhali) just below.

Tombole Point is now known as Mornington Point.

(20) *The James and Mary*: see article in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXVI, pp. 83—91. The wreck of the vessel of that name took place in 1694. Owing to the absence of the name in Streynsham Master's diary (1676) and Davenport's sailing directions in the *English Pilot* of 1703, Mr. Barlow thinks that there must be an interpolation in Thornton's Chart. Some change took place (in his opinion) between 1684 and 1694 which set up this new danger to navigation.

(21) *Tana*—or *Muckwah Thannah*, was a Mahomedan outpost on the western shore built to protect the trade of the river. It was of brickwork and there was a mud fort on the opposite bank. (Ives, p. 101.) In Rennell's map it is shown as lying $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the modern Fort William and may be located just above the site of the house of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens. According to Sir George King, there was a small creek here, running inland towards the great banyan tree, which even in these early days had attained a

On the north bounds of the castle stands the Chocky circumvolving of which they had flung up an intrenchment, and on the opposite side of the river lay the ruins of a battery flung up by a Gentew Raga, in order to demolish the castle in the Bengallian War, when the fort was taken from the Moors by an English agent, whose name I have forgot, tho' after restored to them when the peace was concluded.

Having passed this piece of defence with a fine easy gale near two leagues we opened Calcutta our desired port; it gratifying us with a most agreeable prospect which when we were come its length we dropt anchor before the fort, saluting the garrison with 7 guns, who returned us the like compliment.

I shall not here enter into a description of the remarkables of Calcutta, seeing my abode of 4 days there hath not furnish'd me with a sufficient supply, but shall only inform you, on my arrival I paid my respects to the governor (John Russel Esqr.) to tender him an offer of my service, which he told me he would take into his consideration, upon which taking my leave I repaired to my brother officers of the military, who entertained me with abundance of civility, among them was my good friend captain Hercules Courtney, a gentleman [2162] that had been very serviceable to the Company in the wars at fort St. David, but had run through the same misfortune as myself, being cashier'd a little before me at Madderass, he coming hither for employ, but meeting with disappointments, laid hold of the opportunity of going up to Hugley, where the Moors were embroiled in a war, he entering into the

considerable size. Tannah Fort or Chocky (chauki) was taken by Job Charnock ("the English agent whose name I have forgot") in 1687 and destroyed by Clive and Watson on January 1, 1757. The following quotation from the log of H.M.S. *Kent* under date of January 1, 1757 is given in Sir Henry Yule's notes to Hedges' *Diary* (Hakl. Sec. 1889, Vol. III, p. ccxv): "The Tyger's Seamen took possession of Tanner's Fort which the enemy had abandoned and our boats took the Fort on the opposite side, hoisted English colours and set fire to them both." Ives. (p. 101) states that 40 cannon were found in the two Forts, many of them 20 pounders. Streynsham Master wrote of the place in 1676: "In Tannah stands an old fort of mud walls wch was build to prevent ye incursion of the Arracaners, for it seems about ten or twelve years since they were soe bold that none dare inhabit lower down the river than this place, the Arracaners usually taking the people of the shoares to sell them at Tiple" (querry, Pipli: but hardly Tipera as suggested by Yule). Tannah Reach was the scene in 1759 of a smart action between the Dutch and the English which is thus described in "Asiaticus": in Two Parts" (1803 edition):

Seven Dutch ships, one of 36 guns, three of 26 guns and three of 22, 20, and 18 guns, arrived in the river with Troops from Batavia, amongst whom were 400 Malays. They came up to the Lower End of Tannah Reach, where the Troops were landed and were to march up to Calcutta. There were only three Company's ships at Calcutta of 26 guns each, which were fitted for the occasion. They attacked the Dutch ships, and, after a hard-fought battle in which the Dutch lost many men, four were taken: the other three retreated down the river, but were afterwards stopped and taken possession of. In this engagement we had only two wounded."

One of these, Captain Forrester, subsequently died. The battle of Biderra (between Ghiretty House and Chandernagore) followed: and ended in the total defeat of the Dutch by Colonel Francis Forde.

service of Juda Con (22) managed the face of affairs so well that it much enlarged his credit, receiving from the Nabob several rich presents for his good service, tho' not so much as was before promised him, upon which in a disgust he left them, and was but lately arrived at Calcutta.

Three days being expired, I went to know his honours mind, who ingenuously told me he had no vacancy, all his commissions being full, otherwise he would give me service; but advised me to go home. Mr. Russel, Governor of Calcutta. on board one of the Europe ships, I answered I had not a hundred Pagodás to pay for my passage and seeing I could not now go home to my friends handsomely, I was resolved to stay in India till I could, or necessity forced me to the contrary; so would have taken my leave of the governor but he calling me back would oblige me seeing he had not service for me to give him my word of honour I would not take up service under the Moors; I answered I might as well give him the same that I would receive no sustenance for a twelvemonth, for seeing as in duty bound I had first made proffers of service to my country, which they not accepting I held myself no longer obliged, but was at my free liberty to go take service where I pleased, so that those whom I served were no enemies to my King and Country.

He replied all this is reasonable, but then these nations among whom we dwell being ignorant of the law of arms, and the recourse of Englishmen to side with either party might be detrimental to the Company's affairs.

I returned his honour was only capable of remedying the ills that might thereby accrue, and that to sustain this mortal body bread was required, which if the Company would not give me I should (with his honour's leave) go to them that would; so accordingly taking my leave I went to inform Captain Courtany of my success, who advised me by all means to go up to Hugley, and take service under the Emmer of Bengal (23), giving me his word if nothing of consequence interposed he would be soon up after me; we passed the time with various discourse upon that subject and at parting he gave me letters to Monsure Attrope, governor of the Dajes factory at Gundulparra (24) who he told me was his friend.

I hired a Willock that evening, and taking with me my effects proceeded on my voyage; by sunseting we got the length of Barnagur, and by nine arrived at Gundulparra; I [2163] sent my servant to desire admittance, who soon after returned with some others belonging to the factory informing me

(22) Zeyau-d-din Khan, the Imperial "Admiral and Governor" of Hughli.

(23) The Emmer of Bengal—The nominal Governor of Bengal was Azimu-sh-shan, the second son of the Emperor Bahadur Shah (Shah Alam) but he was away at Lahore, and was represented in the province by his son Farrukh Syar, then a young man of twenty eight, who succeeded to the imperial musnud in 1713 and was murdered in 1719. Azim-us-shan was killed in battle with his three brothers, after the death of Shah Alam in 1712.

(24) Gundulparra: The Danes settled about 1670 or thereabouts at Condolpara, where the name Dinemardanga still survives: but abandoned the factory in 1714. Fredriksnagore, or Serampore, was founded in 1755.

the governor was up and desired my company, they accordingly conducting me upstairs into a large spacious chamber, where the governor received me very civilly; I delivered him my letters, which he reading soon made way for a discourse concerning the wars of Hugley; he expressed abundance of friendship to me on Capn. Cortney's account, but it being pretty late we retired to our repose.

The next morning getting up pretty early, I had the opportunity of viewing the factory, which is a pretty neat and compact pile of buildings, built fronting the river at a bow shot distance; on its banks are lin'd down a tier of iron culverins and sakers (25) for salutes, twenty or five and twenty in number, lying on the right hand of the landing place as you ascend the stupedety [sic] of the bank, from whence to the house is a fine walk underneath the umbrage of shady trees row'd on each side at equal distances; you enter the gate, (which is large and spacious maintaining always a small guard) into a fine square Court, the factory house taking up the western side, the other three being run round with lodging rooms and warehouses fares on the top and considerably lower than the western building, the yard being divided into squares by a cross walk in the left hand; in your egress from the gate standeth the flag staff whereon is hoisted the standard of Denmark.

On the back side of the factory which consists but of two stories, is a pretty large garden indifferently handsome, abounding in sallading and sweet herbs, beans, pease and turnips; neither is it wanting in flowers, of which it hath variety, it is likewise adorned with a fine shady walk, and a noble large fishpond full of excellent fish, which swim in shoals upon the surface of the water; there is likewise a small sort of a bastion built at the NW corner of the garden, looking to Gendullparra tho' it hath no guns mounted thereon.

Having thus taken a view of the factory, I return'd to the governor who I found was just risen; we passed the morning away in a very affable manner; (he being a man of excellent parts, to a degree civil and courteous to strangers) and when dinner was ready we sat down to a plentiful table, in which shone the ancient hospitality of our English nobility who certainly received it from the Danes; no fantastical kickshaws borrowed from our neighbours the French, but good hearty feeding cleanly dressed and well cook'd, and to wash down a cup of old Lubbeck beer, to crown our felicity and welfare that I may truly say I never eat a meal with a better gust or with more satisfaction in my life.

Having returned the governor my most humble thanks for the favours he had conferred upon me, he was pleased [2164] to give me two letters recom-

(25) *Culverins and Sakers*.—A culverin* (Italian *colubro*) was a large cannon, very long in proportion to its bore. The length ranged from 10 to 13 feet, and the diameter of the bore from 5 to 5½ inches. The weight of the shot varied from 17 to 20 lbs. Names of reptiles were frequently applied to early cannon. A saker was an old form of cannon smaller than a demi-culverin, formerly much used in sieges and on ships. The word in this sense is a transferred use of saker—a large lanner falcon: cf. falconet, musket.

mandatory; (the one for the Emmer of Bengal, the other to Myn heer Hoffmaster the second of the Dutch factory at Chincura) I took my leave of him and embarked in my boat passing by a small ship and yacht belonging to the Danes, and by three in the afternoon was got the length of Chandurnagur the French factory, being distant from Gundullparra about a mile and quarter; the town is large and uniform, adorned with great numbers of good edifices, so is likewise the factory, which makes an agreeable prospect to the river.

We were now obliged to hawl over and keep the star-board shore on board for fear of the enemy; being got within gunshot of them, the Emmer of Bengal having three or four batteries on the starboard, as had likewise the Nabob Juda Con who was block'd up in Chandernagur on the larboard side of the river.

And here it will not be amiss to say something of the rise of this war as likewise of it's Briad [sic] which had an end whilst I was at Moexudbath (26).

Shallum the emperor (27) from a meaner station advanced ([blank]) who from Gentilism embraced Mahometism to the government of Bengal, creating him Annabob or vice roy among the Moors, thereof, changing his name (it being a mark of high honour) to that of Mursed Cola Con, but the death of Shawlam happening whilst he was in the government, the king's children broke out into an open war for the crown; Mursed Cola Con sided with Mosidean (28)

(26) *Moexudbath*—Maksudabad or Murshidabad. In 1710 Murshid Kuli Khan (see next note) moved the seat of government from Dacca to Maksudabad (which is said by Tieffenthaler to have been founded by Akbar) and gave the place his own name. He established a mint there and built a palace (Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 309).

(27) *Shallum* or *Shawlam*—Moazzam alias Bahadur Shah or Shah Alam, the second son of Aurungzebe, who succeeded his father in 1710 and died in 1712. There is some confusion here. It was Aurungzebe when Viceroy of the Deccan, who appointed Jafar Khan, otherwise known as Murshid Kuli Khan (Mursed Cola Con) to be his Dewan in 1656 and sent him to Bengal in 1704 as Treasurer and Deputy Governor. He occupied the de facto gadi of Kandahar to a representative of Shahjahan in 1638. Another account has it that he was the son of a poor Brahman who was adopted by a merchant of Ispahan and converted to Islam under the name of Haji Muhammad. Holwell's account of Murshid Kuli Khan is not flattering. (Interesting Historical Events relative to the Province of Bengal, 1766. Vol. I, pp. 52, 53).

In the reign of Furrukhsir Jaffir Khan, an Omrah of great consideration and interest at Court, ruled those provinces (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) with a rod of iron. His name to this day is remembered with detestation: to fill his coffers he inflicted the most cruel punishments on the Rajahs and Zemindars, by ways and means unheard of and unknown, but in this Eastern Government. He also highly oppressed the Europeans settled in these parts: yet notwithstanding his very maladministration, he had the address to obtain the governments of Behar and Orissa, united with that of Bengal in his person: which ever before had been distinct and separate Nabobships. With this new acquisition of power he removed from Dacca: which until that time had been the chief residence of the Soubahs, to Morshadabad: and this city now became the capital of the provinces.

(28) *Mosidean*—Muazeddin, the eldest son of Shah Alam: took the title of

(the eldest, and whilst they managed the war in Industan he sends for Juda Con Nabob of Ballasore, and governor of Hugley, to bring in his rents received as part of the king's revenues, that he might make his accounts up to the King, seeing he could not tell that money was brought in.

Upon which Juda Con goes to the Anabob at Moxudbath and takes along with him Kingcarson, (29) his Banian or rent gatherer, informing him that they would deliver in no money 'till there was a new king establish'd; others will have it that the Annabob offering a daughter in marriage to Juda Con he refused the proposals, because the Annabob had been a servant under his father; but be it how it will, he was scarce got down to Hugley, ere Holy beg (30) was sent down to take from him his government and to declare war, upon which Juda Con fortifies himself on the north boundaries of Chandurnagur, flinging up several batteries to the river ward and land board, mounting thereon between 50 and 60 guns, mostly between sixteen and eighteen pounds.

Collbeg Con the elder brother of Holy Beg, being general of the horse marches into the field, and encamps to the westward of Chandarnagur, blocking up that side, and sends another strong detachment to the other side of the river to lie in those batteries; Holy Beg keeping in the castle at Hugley; the batteries that were flung up to dismount the artillery on [2165] those Juda Con had raised, were taken from them by Captain Courtney, he driving them the same time into the castle, upon the news of which Mursed Cola Con recalls Holy Beg from his command, and sends down the Emmer of Bengal to carry on the war.

The Emmer being come to his command with 1,000 horse and 6,000 foot, encamps before Chandernagur, giving (tho' I believe by the Hanabob's order) all the European soldiers into the charge of a rascally Padre of the Augustin order; of which more hereafter; he lay before it a considerable time, but did nothing having several misfortunes attending him, as a mutiny among his men, three hundred horse going from him together; but upon the promise of two months pay advance they came back; he lay about two months longer before it, when the confirmation came of Forixears (31) being King, he took the opportunity of a dark night accompanied with two others in the habit of Fuckears (i.e. Country beggars) and secretly departed from the army, who in the morning finding their general gone, disbanded, and thus far as to the war of Hugley.

Jahandar Shah on succeeding to the throne in 1712 and was murdered the following year. Holwell's "Mauz o' din."

(29) Kingcarson—not identifiable under this disguise. The "Anabob at Moxudbath" is, of course, Murshid Kuli Khan.

(30) Holy Beg—Wali Beg. Collbeg Con, his brother, is not identifiable. In 1711 Zeyau-d-din was deprived of his office in accordance with the representations of Murshed Kuli Khan, and Wali Beg was placed in charge of Hugly.

(31) Forixear—Farrukh Siyar. "A good-for-nothing and shameless debauchee" who established a state of terror in the court by his savage fury" (Vincent Smith).

To return; being come to the Chinchury, (32) I landed and went to Mynheer Hoffmaster, who was extreme civil, desiring me to make use of his house as my home, till such time as I was settled, and very obligingly ordered his Palankeen to carry me to the Emmer of Bengal, it being a league to the place where he lay encamp'd.

When I came to the camp I was strangely surprised to see in what confusion they had pitched their tents, being quite destitute of form and order, without any respect or precedence in persons, the general being near the center of the Camp, with a large markees round it, in the front were advanc'd five or six standards of a triangular form; some azure, others argent, charged with a ball gules; in this manner were they encamped horse and foot confused together without any marshalling or discipline among them.

Being arrived at the generals tent, I alighted and after making myself slipshod, conforming to the custom of the country, I was conducted to the Emmer who I found sitting cross legged smoking his hubble bubble, and round him a great number of officers; I paid him my Salam and having seated myself for me to discourse the matter privately; he asked me when Captain Courtney would come up, I answered I believed in 4 or 5 days, he had me write and assure him of twenty thousand rupees when the wars were over, the one half to be deposited in the hands of Monseer Attroop, and the other in the hands of Mynheer Hoffmaster; as to my business he proffered me the command of One hundred Europeans, and one hundred rupees Pr [2166] Month; after which treating me with some very good Madeira wine in a China sneaker, (33) which surprised me knowing it is forbidden in their law and by most Moors held as an abomination; but I supposed the Dutch imposed it upon them, or else design'd it a present for the general, to solace himself with in private when freed from the censorious remarks of the more stricter sort of musselmen.

Having taken leave I departed to the Chinchura, where at my arrival I found my new friend Hoffmaster with some more Dutch gentlemen at supper, he kindly chid me for staying so long, and after I had excused myself, I sat down and joined the society, after supper we settled to drinking and smoking, having variety of wines to intice the appetite, at which excess we continued till it was pretty late, then the guests breaking up I was lighted to my repose.

I stay'd at Mynheer Hoffmaster the space of a fortnight being very civilly intreated, in which time I wrote to Captain Courtney and received letters from him, wherein he informed me of the troubles he was in at Calcutta, the governor designing to impede his voyage up by sending him to Madrass least

(32) *The Chinchury*—Chinsurah. The first Dutch factory adjoined the English factory at Hooghly and was established in 1650. It was swept away by floods and a new factory was built at Chinsurah in 1656.

(33) *Sneaker*—a large cup with a saucer and cover: called *Sinigar* by Indian servants from a fancied derivation from *Sini* "China ware," but in reality a word of genuine English origin. See quotations in *Hobson-Jobson* (S.v.) from the *Spectator* and Fielding's "Jonathan Wild."

he should come to the assistance of the Emmer of Bengal, which as I afterwards heard he effected.

Having taken leave of my friend I went wholly to the Emmer of Bengal, who gave me an order to go and receive my men from the Padre on the morrow, who hearing of my being in the camp sent his Palankeen and his servant desiring me to come and take up my quarters with him, where he had provided a chamber for me, assuring me how proud he would be to serve me; I could not withstand all this civility (tho' I had been pretty well informed of the villanous actions committed by the ecclesiasticks of the Church of Rome) but went into the Palankeen and was carried to the Convent where the father stood ready to receive me in a square taris (34) yard before the door of the priory, I paid him my respects due to his holy function, who returned my complimnet with abundance of civility; we entered the church hand in hand into the father's apartment, and down we sat to solace ourselves with a bottle, the wine being come and he desiring me to be free, telling me every thing I saw there was my own, we began to discourse of affairs, at every word it was brother Captain and brother Captain, he desiring me not to remember his spiritual function 'till such time as I saw him administer at the high altar, solemnly protesting he would be himself in the then (sic) sending for his sword and blunderbuss, he shewed me his weapons of offence.

The wine not proving extraordinary, being thick and muddy to oblige so dear a friend as I was, he sent for a case bottle of that which was better, telling me it was the holy wine with which he administered the Sacrament, of which we drank [2167] plentifully, and in it the father drank damnation to the enemy, but I having a little more grace than the bishop would not pledge it, which another Portuguese Captain did very cordially saying they were Mahometans and therefore deserved to be damned; the priest then drank a health to St. George, and to return the compliment I drank another to St. Augustin, which so obliged the father who was of that order that he would needs prove them a kin to one another, and at last did conclude and really believe them to be Cousin Germans.

Then was brought out a draught of Juda Con's batteries, taken upon the place by another holy father in disguise, and we then entered into a close consultation about storming them; at last it was agreed between us, that father should march down to the Chinchera, and so along the river side at the head of two hundred men, and storm two batteries the one of six, the other four guns, and I to march with a hundred and fifty men against Molatrusoms (35), a battery of seven guns, and two small batteries adjoining of 3 and 2 guns; but then at proper distance from the enemies works I was to form a detachment of 50 of my men to amuse another battery and so draw off the enemy to the defence of that whilst I entered with my men,

(34) *Taris*—Obsolete form of "Terrace."

(35) *Molatrusoms*—This is entirely baffling.

which when the detachment seeing were to rejoin me; and the Emmer of Bengall with his army was to attack that part towards Chandernagur; thus when we had made ourselves masters of their works, we were to turn the guns on the enemy, and the next day to take the Nabob prisoner. {

Thus had the father laid out the work, and after this manner was Chandarnager to be taken; so eager was the friar in pursuing the design that (altho' it was pretty late) he would not give himself respite till the morrow, but must needs shew me into the armoury, where were military weapons enough to arm six hundred men complete with Carbine, bayonet and granado; besides a vast number of stink pots, and a most barbarous sort of Partizan, (36) the blades being near six inches broad and upwards of sixteen long, these were all new lately made by his order, he keeping 4 or 5 forges continually going in his yard, so that he hath in a manner quite turned the church into an arsenal; from hence the father conducted me to my chamber, and very lovingly wish'd me a good repose.

But see the transitory changes of things in this world, rising next morning and going to the father, not doubting but to meet him in the same cheerful humour he had so lovingly caressed me over night with, but on the contrary found him so crabbed and cross that he would hardly vouchsafe me an answer, I ask'd him for my men, he told me he'd give me none; I shew'd him my authority, he said he cared not for it, I ask'd for his Palankeen to go to the Emmer of Bengal in, he told me I might go on foot; and so brother Capt. and brother Capt. parted.

[2168] I was so highly provok'd with this usage, that I told my resentment to the Emmer in the most agreeable manner I could, but had not half finish'd ere the father arrived; I rallied him pretty handsomely before the general, telling him it became not his function to appear in arms, it was downright perjuring himself in the second vow of his order, that my profession was the sword which I would freely lend him if he would leave with me as a pledge his hoop and mass book, he then might go on in his designs, and gorge himself in the blood of those he so eagerly thirsted after.

I found the fryar was extremely nettled, but he having the Moor's tongue flunt, talk'd a considerable time to the Emmer, tho' what he said I know not, but the Emmer would by all means make us friends before we parted, and accordingly taking the father's hand and mine in his own, he join'd them together, and I freely forgave the priest, but would not go with him home (tho' the Emmer desired, and I excused it) least he should give some more of his Sacrament wine, or else clap me into the inquisition.

The Emmer ordered me then a large brick house in the Bandell, and a horse or palankeen constantly to attend me, sending me at meal time Pelows (37) and rich serbets, that I lived with great satisfaction, but nothing coming

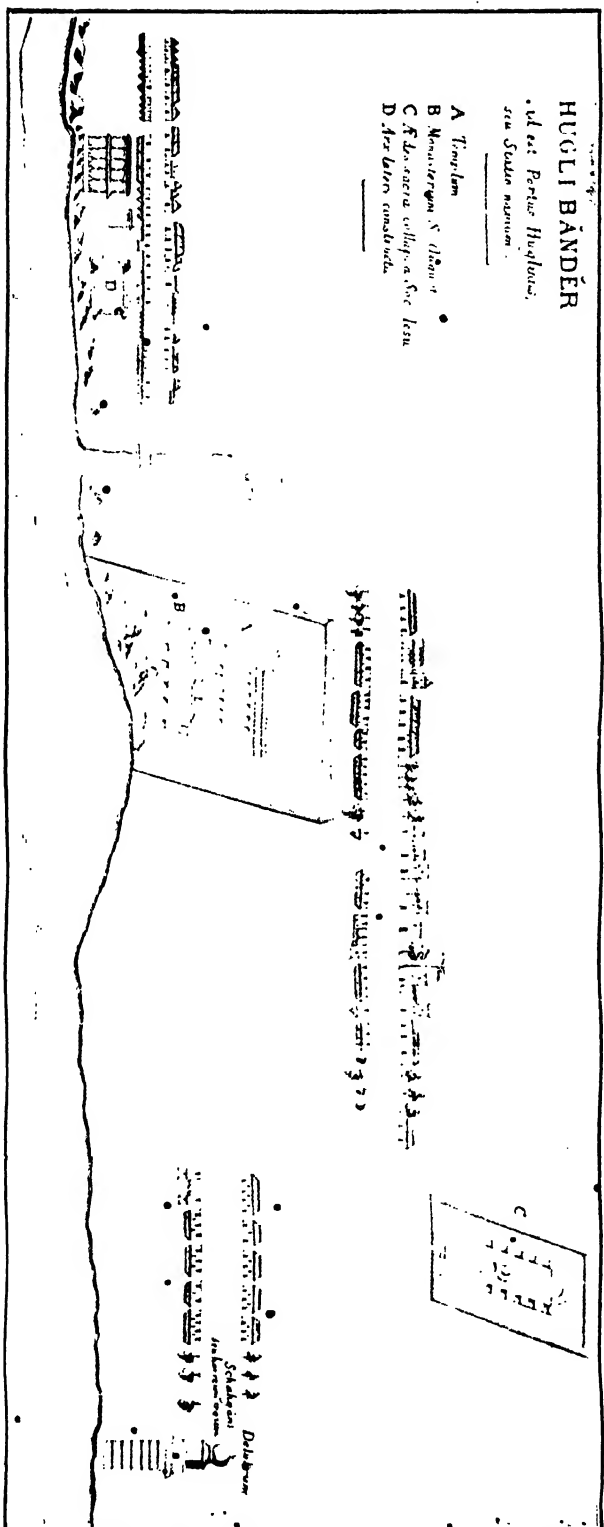
(36) *Partizan*—A long-handled spear, the blade of which had one or more lateral cutting projections.

(37) *Pelows*—pilaus. "The most admired Dainty wherewith they stuff themselves is Pulow."—John Fryer, M.D. "A New Account of India" (London 1698: p. 393).

in, and I constantly putting him in mind of his promise he fairly told me that he could not take any men from the Padra by reason that the Dewan had made him paymaster and commander-in-chief of the Christian soldiers; but, altho' I had no men and came singly to him without a company, yet he would take care of me; and allow me the same as if I had, and that if I could raise any Europeans that were not in the fryar's service he would allow them 35 rupees Pr month; all this past and I set up for recruiting, when all the Europeans in general, whereof there were not a few of my countrymen came, desiring me to head them, they not caring to serve under the Portuguese Captains with whom they were placed but wanted a commander of their own nation; but I told them Gentlemen I understand that you are upon the Padre's books, and therefore will have nothing to do with you 'till such time as you are clear from his service, but those that are not concerned with the priest and have received no money from him, if they are willing to enter I will willingly entertain them, and thus I dismissed them from my lodgings.

Whilst I was thus recruiting an accident and misfortune attended me through the instigation of the father which was as followeth; one evening walking out with a friend to refresh ourselves, we called in at the Church of the Paulistans and paid a visit to the father who was of the order of Jesus; he shewed us the church and what was else deserving remark, (38) after which we took our leaves and thank'd him for his civility, we were hardly got three stones cast from the Convent, but a [2169] black rascally Portuguese brush'd up along by me, and with a jerk snatch'd the sword from my side, the hilt being silver and something valuable, I immediately turned round to pursue the villain and was unexpectedly knock'd down with a blunderbuss, but getting up again as well as I could, was immediately surrounded with 12 or 13 men, and among them the rascal that had my sword,

(38) *The Church of the Paulistans*—The Jesuit Fathers were known as Paulistans from their great College of São Paulo de Santa Fe at Goa. According to Father H. Hosten, S.J., who has examined the matter with much care, the Jesuit house at Hooghly never rose to be more than a small "collegium" or residence, with two or three Fathers and occasionally a lay brother. The last Rector, Father George Deistermann, S.J., died in 1740. Abbate Ripa, who came to Hooghly in 1709, describes the church as very pretty. Father Francisco Laynes, S.J., the fifth Bishop of Mylapore, was buried before the High Altar in 1715. At the time of the visit of Father J. Tieffenthaler, S.J. in 1765, the College was in ruins, and is so indicated in his plan ("Aedes sacra collapsa Soc. Jesu"). "To the N. W.", he writes in his *Description de l'Inde*, "on the very bank of the river a Church and a Convent of the Augustinians may be seen. Going further from there, on the same side, and turning to the W., another Church may be found, dedicated to our Lady, but to-day nearly completely ruined. Of the buildings inhabited by the Jesuits nothing whatever remains." The author of "Asiaticus: in Two Parts" (1803) avers that the foundations of the "Cathedral Church of St. Paul" were to be seen in his day. (The Jesuit Church was in point of fact, never a Cathedral and was dedicated to our Lady of the Nativity). There are now no traces of either Church or College, but the connexion of the Jesuits with Hooghly, which began in 1640, is perpetuated by the São Paulo garden which is in the possession of the Augustinian Fathers of the Bandel Convent. (See articles by Father Hosten in *Bengal Past and Present*: Vol. VI. at p. 218; Vol. X. pp. 64—70; Vol. XXVI, Part I at p. 77).



PLAN OF HUGLI BANDER.—1755.
(From Father J. Tiefenbaler's "Description de L'Inde.")

which being willing to recover I made up to him, but he having a pistol in the other hand snapp'd it at me, but it not going off I presently run in with him and grappled ere he could have time to recover and cock it, but I was soon made to lose my hold by a fellow behind who knock'd me down with a firelock, which with the blow broke over my head, I had them upon me then thick and three fold banging and basting me most nobly, till such time as the fellow was gone off with the sword, and then they also march'd off in a body; my friend who had stood by all the while begging them for God's sake not to kill me, without ever coming to my assistance I was going to fall foul of, had he not pacified me with good words, telling me it was better as it was, for if a sword had been drawn in my defence, one or both had certainly been murdered, it being impossible to resist so many.

They being all Portuguese soldiers belonging to the father, to him I made my complaint desiring justice and my sword again, which he promis'd me I should have on the morrow, and that they should be severely punished for the riot; but he was not so good as his word for I never saw the sword after, but on the contrary was credibly inform'd it was done by the Padre's orders.

By this time I had raised 29 or 30 men, which having entered on the roll I carried them before the Emmer of Bengall, who approving them gave me orders to return to the father and receive their advance money, he being paymaster of all the Europe men in general; I accordingly went and when I came there, the father told me he had no money for my men, but that the Emmer had inform'd him he designed to pay them himself as a separate Company; the next day I went to the Emmer and told him what the father had said, who seemed troubled in his countenance and told me he never mentioned any such thing but had given him positive orders to pay them, and thereupon remanded me back to him again.

Being come to my lodgings I dismissed my men to their several quarters, and sent my servant to inform the father I would wait on him after dinner, which being ended I accordingly went, having three of my men along with me tho' none of them armed, nor was I myself any more than my sword; [2170] when I came to the Convent I found the father at cards with some of his Portuguese Captains, there being a concourse of them sitting round a great table.

I told him I came for money, and that I was sent with a positive order to be paid my advance that evening, he told me he would pay me no money unless I brought an order from the Dewan who was the Emmer of Bengal's master; and thereupon gave me scurrilous language, which so highly provoked me that I called the fryar an old designing rogue, which intolerable indignity flung in the face of a father of the church, letting fly the reins of an ungovernable passion, up they rose upon me one and all, crying kill the dog; vast numbers of others came flocking from all parts of the Convent to assault me, so that in an instant I had ninety or a hundred drawn swords against me at once.

The father had run into his chamber to fetch his weapons of war, who presently appeared at the head of three other fryars in the robes of their order, all armed with sword and target.

Mean while a Portugeeze making a cut at my head, it was fended off by one of my men receiving it half through his cane, and the Padra going to second the blow I grasp'd his sword in my hand, which he drawing through gave me a small mark to remember him.

I had presence of mind enough to consider if I had but made an offer to draw, I should have been cut down ere my sword could be free from the scabbard, seeing I was hemm'd round with such a multitude and several tugging to get it from me, I easily loos'd my hold and let them take it being sensible the doctrine of nonresistance was most proper at the present juncture; when they found they had disarmed me they were pretty easy, and then were for pushing me out of the Church head foremost; when I came into the porch I sent in to the father, desiring the restoring of my sword promising to be the author of no disturbance with it, had it accordingly sent me; I went home and bound up my hand, and had not been reposed above two hours when news was brought me that the Padre had sent for all my men, and told them if they would relinquish my service and take arms under him he would immediately pay them which all but five accepted of, being forced thereto (as several of them told me after) by necessity, and thus was I baulk'd of my Company.

Having seriously reflected on these misfortunes and having secret information that the father design'd me a dose, I began to have some thoughts to-

Description of the Chinchura and Hugley. wards travel, and to see what I could do elsewhere, which I accordingly concluded on, but before I proceed I shall say something concerning the Chinchura, Hugley, Golgutt and the Bandell, and then proceed onwards with my voyage.

The Chinchura or Dutch settlement is bounded on the north by Hugley, and on the south by Chandernagore, on [2171] the east it hath the river, and on the west lieth open to the country; it is a large town chequer'd with diversity of streets, and a multitude of good buildings, the factory stands at the south end and is the residence of the Directore, who is the principal factor the Dutch have in Bengal, having under him several out factories, as those of Cassimbuzar, Dacca, Rogiomall, and Patna; the factory is large and encompass'd round with a very high wall, on the NW corner of which is a sort of a bastion whereon are guns mounted, and in the center of the front curtain a large port which maintains a guard, here belonging a company of soldiers with their respective officers for the defence of the place and from the port to the river a noble broad walk raised, lined on each side with a lofty row of stately trees, at the end thereof is the flagstaff.

The river is thus high navigable with the tide for ships of 6 or 700 tons burthen they riding before the factory in 8 and 10 fathom water; it is seldom without Europe shipping notwithstanding the effects they yearly export to Batavia; the next remarkable is the Dutch repository to the westward of the

factory, being a large square place inclosed with a brick wall, full of tombs in variety of forms, some large others of a smaller magnitude, but mostly ruinate.

Hugley is a large populous city and Moors garrison seated in the Latitude of ([blank]) degrees ([blank]) minutes north; the houses but indifferent as in most places of the Eastern globe, but the merchants make in some measure a more splendid appearance, whose shops are splendidly set out with all sorts of rich and costly commodities.

The great Buzar or main street is of most remark extending near three-quarters of a mile, you enter it from the Chinchery through two large gateways including in the vacancy a square building running from gate to gate serving formerly as stables for the horse belonging to the garrison, and in the center or midway between the gates a small mosque, tho' it is as well as the whole building in general mostly ruinate.

In the northermost of these two ports was posted a company of Europe soldiers in the late wars, mostly upon the merchants account, they keeping guard and shutting up their gates every night at the usual hours, though they were but of small defence to them being inch and half plank and made to turn upon wooden hinges.

From the port all the remaining length of the street is the Buzar furnish'd on each side with stalls and shops well furnish'd and stock'd with a universality of commodities that the buyer may provide himself at all times with whatever his occasions require, as well European as Indian vendibles.

[2172] At the upper end of the Buzar is situated the castle in a low sandy soil, being bounded to the eastward with the river, it is in form an irregular Pentagon of four round bulwarks, one angle having none, and hath two ports; the main is fronting to the Buzar, which is large and spacious, having two new intrenchments cast up without it in which are mounted a small number of patteraroes and murderers (39); the passage between the intrenchments is secur'd with a great chain, and in the port stands fronting the treet a large hoop gun as big as a demi cannon, tho' it carries a shot not above two inches and a half diameter; it is of the country make, being almost as thick at the bore as it is at the breech, compacted of a great number of iron hoops for the bore, then laid round with iron bars for the length of the gun, and lastly those bound over or cas'd with other hoops of the same metal all worked together at the forge, like the iron bars in a large anchor they being excellent artists at it, and by report they are very good proof.

They have another small battery or two on the rampier near the gate mounted with old demi culverin, and Saker; and likewise several long and swivel guns of the country make, some in carriages and some without lying down in the yard, tho' no other mounted on the works, the rampiers not being broad enough to admit them, yet there is a parapet cast up on the edge of

(39) *Patteraro*—or *Pedrero*, a small gun.

Murderer or *Morderer*—the name given to a small cannon or mortar of the period.

the rampier with loop holes for the bowmen and small arms; in the castle is a large yard or green, at the end of which is the governor's apartment, and a new edifice carrying on, which when finished will be a pretty compact dwelling, behind which is the other gate, small in comparison of the former, this lets towards the river where the slope or Talud is carried up much higher than in other places, the castle is seated, pretty near the middle of the city, there being two other gates on it's northern limits, through which you pass to the Bandell.

Golgutt an English factory, (40) subordinate under Calcutta is seated in the city of Hugly on the banks of the river, it here forming itself into a Cove, being deep water ships riding 16 and 18 fathom not English Factory in Hugley. a stones cast off shore; being landed and ascended the bank you enter the factory through a large gate beautiful and adorned with pillars and cornishes in the Chanam work, and on the top of all is the flag staff fixed into the brick work whereon they hoist St. George's flag; being entered the gate you come into a small Court yard, on the right hand being a row of apartments, and on the left a Viranda for the guard; you ascend into the house by steps, having under it two square cellars with staircases to descend; the hall is indifferent large, besides two indifferent apartments with chimneys there are other rooms and closets in the house, the whole consisting but of one story.

Behind the house is a garden, in which grows nothing but weeds, in the middle is an ugly well, and at one corner [2173] upon the wall is built a round sort of a business like a sentry box, but much larger, you ascend it by a narrow Chenam staircase, which have no rails or fence to keep you from tumbling into the garden, and when entered you see nothing worth observation having a door but never a window tho' it yields an excellent echo, it being contrived as I have been informed as a magazine for powder.

At the end of the garden are the ruins of several apartments the roofs being fallen in, and indeed all the out-houses are in the like condition of which there are several; you may ascend to the top of the factory by an old wooden staircase which is well terras'd, with seats all round and a small oblong place included by its self, from whence you have a prospect of the river; to conclude it is an old, ugly, ill contrived edifice wherein is not the least spark of beauty, form, or order, to be seen, being seated in a dull melancholy hole enough to give one the Hippocondria by once seeing it; the Company have no factor at present that is resident here, being left in the charge of a Molly and two or three Punes, tho' in truth it is hardly worth looking after.

(40) *Golgutt*—The name survives in Gholghat, a locality in the centre of the town of Hooghly. The English factory was established in 1650, and after Charnock's migration to Calcutta (Suttanuttee) in 1690, became the headquarters of the "New" or "English" Company until its amalgamation with the old Company in 1704.

The Bandell I shall next describe and then conclude, it being the vilest, wickedest, and most profane spot of ground under the cope of heaven; All

the sins that brought down vengeance from heaven

Description of the Bandell. Sodom and Gomorrah are here daily and hourly practised without any detection or restraint, being a nest of banditti Portuguese who live without any manner of government, neither is one respected more than the other, but he that hath been guilty of the basest villany; shooting a man and stabbing him asleep are here accounted honourable actions, neither is it much to be wondered at were one but to reflect on the treacherous villanies that nation hath been so heinously guilty of these late years. •

Being through the northern gate of Hugley you have a fine walk to the Bandell of about half a mile over a broad earth bank like a rampier flung up to keep the river which runs along side it from overflowing; being come into the town the first object that attacks the eye is the convent or priory belonging to the order of St. Augustin, (41) whereof Father Francisco Pereoe my old antagonist was incumbent; it is a large and spacious building, making a very agreeable prospect, being white washed and circumvolved with a brick wall including the ground for the repository, in a corner of which stands a flag staff belonging to the convent.

Adjoining is a large brick bridge of two or three arches standing over a dry dyke, (42) but in the rain times it serves to carry the water from off the higher grounds, the town hath several streets, and a great many very good houses in one of which I lived; there is another church dedicated to [2174] St. Paul belonging to the Jesuits order as I have before observed.

Sunday January the eleventh 1712/13 about 2 in the afternoon I embark'd in a willock which I had hired for Moxidbad, my boats crew consisting of about six rowers and a steersman besides my servants.

(41) The Augustinians first settled at Bandel in 1599: and on August 15 of that year laid the first stone of their Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, the Convent being dedicated to St. Nicholas of Tolentino. Both this Church and the Jesuit Church were destroyed in 1632 when Hooghly was sacked by the "Moors." The author of "Asiaticus: in Two Parts" (1803) who may have obtained his information from the then Prior, says that the Convent was pulled down in 1640 and "rebuilt by that pious gentleman, John Gomes de Soto." Father Hosten (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. X. p. 52) holds that the existing Church dates from 1676.

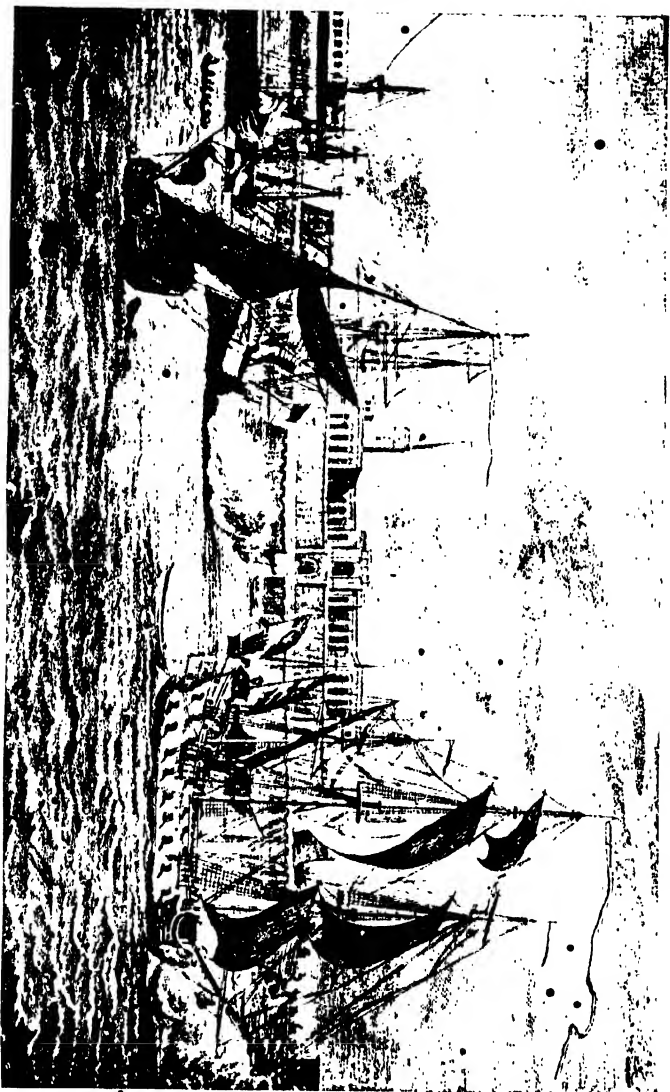
(42) This bridge is shown in Father Tieffenthaler's plan of "Fugli Bandar" (1765).

“Fort William at Bengall”: About 1730.

THE illustration of “Fort William at Bengall,” which faces this page, is the fourth of a series of pictures of the most important settlements in the East Indies and on the route thither, as they were in the early part of the eighteenth century. The five others represent the Cape of Good Hope (in which the Dutch flag flies from a walled fort), the island of St. Helena, Tellicherry on the west coast, Fort Saint George (with a wholly imaginary back ground of hills) and Bombay. The originals are in the Military Committee-room at the India Office. Their purchase is thus recorded in the Court Minutes of November 1, 1732:—“Order’d that the Secretary do pay Mr. George Lambert £94-10-0 for six pictures of the Forts etc., for the Court Room at Fifteen Guineas per picture as per agreement.” (Foster, Catalogue, p. 23). George Lambert (1710—1765) was the first President of the Society of Arts, and Samuel Scott (d. 1772), who painted the ships, was a friend of Hogarth and a marine artist of some note. The series was engraved by Gerard Vandergucht about 1736, but the prints are scarce.

In the foreground of the picture are several English vessels at anchor, three of which are firing a salute. Behind is seen the river face of old Fort William, showing two lines of battlements, which enclose Government House. Over the roof of the latter rises the steeple of St. Anne’s Church, which was consecrated in 1709, and was destroyed during the fighting in June, 1756. The church in the distance on the left is probably the Portuguese Church which was replaced in 1797 by the present Catholic Cathedral in Murghihatta. The small river gate to the left, seen indistinctly near the north-west bastion and partially covered by the edge of a sail, is identified by Dr. Busteed (*Echoes from Old Calcutta*) as the gate by which Seraj-ud-daula entered the fort immediately after its capture. The Ghat leading down to the river from the larger gate in the centre is probably that by which Governor Drake fled to the boats.

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.
VOLUME XXVI.



FORT WILLIAM AT BENGAL: ABOUT 1730.

Painted and delineated by George Lambert and Samuel Scott.

(From an engraving by Gerard Vandergucht.)

Notes on the Early History of Manipur.*

THE Manipur State was known in the olden days, by a variety of names. In Rennell's *Memoir* and maps of India it is called "Meckley." In Symes' *Narrative* and in maps of that period the State is called "Cassay." It has long been known in Cachar as "Mogli," which is apparently a form of "Meckley." Among the Shan and Burmese tribes the State was known by the name of "Ka-Se" or "Ka-the."

The Native State of Manipur which lies far beyond the Ganges and the Brahmaputra on the N.-E. frontier of India, comprises an area of about 8,000 square miles. It is bounded on the North by the Naga country and the hills overlooking the Assam Valley, on the West by the district of Cachar, on the East by Upper Burma and on the South by the Lushai hills. The Valley of Manipur, which is very fertile, extends over 650 square miles. Surgeon-General E. Balfour (*Cyclopaedia of India*, p. 851) infers that this valley was at one time the bed of a large lake and that the sheet of water called the Logtak Lake is its remnant which is rapidly filling up, an opinion which is endorsed by the late Sir W. W. Hunter (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IX. p. 324).

The early history of Manipur and its people is enveloped in darkness and the records written by the inhabitants since they became Hindus in 1714 A.D. are so vague and legendary that they cannot be relied upon. But the fact cannot be ignored that this State has existed as an independent kingdom from a very early date and was originally peopled by several tribes which came from different directions. It is difficult to say what was the form of government before the year 700 A.D., but it is surmised by Sir James Johnstone ("My Experiences in the Naga Hill, and Manipur," p. 80) that a monarchy must have existed in those times. About 1250 A.D., a Chinese invasion on a big scale was repulsed by the Manipuris and a larger number of the Chinese were made prisoners. These captives taught the Manipuris the art of rearing cocoons and some of them settled at Susa Rameng in the Manipur Valley, where their descendants are still to be found. The Manipuris further learnt the art of brick-making from the Chinese who built two solid blocks of masonry in the palace, between which the road to the Lion Gate passed. These blocks were destroyed by the Burmese invaders, but was rebuilt by Gambhir Singh.

The present inhabitants of Manipur are a fine race of men descended from an Indo-Chinese stock, with some admixture of Aryan invaders that had passed

*A Paper read at the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Calcutta in January 1923. Reprinted by permission.

along the Gangetic and Brahmaputra Valleys in prehistoric days. There is an order of priestesses in Manipur called 'the Maibee' said to have been founded by a certain princess of Manipur. The oldest family of Brahmins in the country is known as 'Hungoi-bun' derived from the word 'Hungoi' a frog. The name was given by the Manipuris to the first 'Brahman' whose frequent baths or ablutions to ensure the purity of the body filled them with astonishment.

The kingdom of Manipur—situated, as it is, in the heart of the difficult and mountainous country which stretches between Assam, Cachar, Burma and Chittagong—never attracted the serious attention of historians till it first came to public notice as an ally and neighbour of the Shan Kingdom of Pong which touched Tipperah, Yunan and Siam, and of which the city called 'Mogaung' by the Burmese and 'Mongmarong' by the Shans, was the capital. Even then, the history of Manipur is devoid of any interesting feature till it reaches the year 1714 A.D. In that year a Naga, named Panheiba, became Raja of Manipur taking the name of "Gharib Nawaz." About the middle of the 18th century (1) a wandering Hindu ascetic told him that he had discovered that the Raja and his subjects were descended from Arjun (a hero of the Mahabharat) by a Naga woman and that they were consequently Kshatriyas of the Lunar Race. The King was so much elated at this new revelation of his high ancestry that he at once embraced Hinduism. There was an elaborate ceremony of purification after which he was invested with the sacred thread.

As the early history of Manipur has not been exhaustively dealt with by any writer and as several important historical facts relating to the period, beginning with the reign of Gharib Nawaz up to the opening of relations between Manipur and the British are buried in oblivion, some details concerning the history of the Hinduised Naga King, traced from the archives of the Imperial Government, may perhaps prove interesting to students of history. The letter from Mr. Verelst, Chief of Chittagong Factory, to Mr. H. Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, dated 19th September 1762, (2) throws a flood of light on the subject. We find from this letter that Gharib Nawaz had two wives. By the first, he had a son called Sham Shah, who also again had two sons, Gour Shah and Jai Singh. By his second wife, Gharib Nawaz had six children, Ajit Shah, Nun Shah, Tong Shah, Sarbosache, Bharat Shah and Sattrughna Shah. Under the influence of his second wife and his guru (or Vazir), Gharib Nawaz set aside the claims of Sham Shah and appointed Ajit Shah as his heir in about 1750. He even went so far as to renounce his throne in favour of Ajit Shah in his lifetime. About two years and a half after his resignation, Gharib Nawaz, who fought several battles with the Burmese between 1725 and 1749, undertook a journey to Burma with his son Sham Shah to settle some

(1) Census of Assam by E. A. Gait, p. 253, and Statistical Account of Assam by Hunter. Vol. II, p. 381.

(2) Public O. C. 4th October, No. 5, 1762.

political differences. He was successful in his mission. While Gharib Nawaz and his son were absent in Burma, Ajit Shah heard rumours to the effect that his father was repenting the injustice he had done to Sham Shah and intended to place him on the throne. Ajit Shah ordered some of his men to meet his father and brother on their return from Burma and under pretence of escorting them to murder them on the way. Thus Gharib Nawaz, Sham Shah and about twenty of the principal inhabitants of Manipur were treacherously massacred. This incident marked the beginning of a series of treacherous parricides and fratricides in the State of Manipur.

Bharat Shah (the fifth son of the second wife) came to know of the dark deeds of his brother, secretly formed a strong party of his own supporters and sent word to Ajit Shah to quit the country. Bharat Shah said that as "he abhorred the thought of dipping his hands in his brother's blood," Ajit Shah must leave Manipur and never think of returning to it again and to this proposal Ajit Shah was reluctantly compelled to agree. "Bharat Shah's action received the approval of the people and he was unanimously requested to take up the management of the State. On his death and after a year and a half the several Rajahs under the Government of Meckley, (thirty-one in number) assembled to select his successor." They unanimously chose Gour Shah (eldest son of Sham Shah) to the vacant throne and he was "immediately proclaimed Rajah of Meckley" about the year 1758, an act of justice by which the direct succession of the line was restored. During this period the Burmese invaded Manipur and occupied the Capital. "Gour Shah, in his retreat from the enemy fell from his horse and broke his leg." On this he invited his brother Jai Singh to try to retrieve the lost glory of his country by driving off the Burmese. Gour Shah also offered to abdicate the throne in his favour.

Jai Singh accepted the proposal of his brother Gour Shah and began to collect troops for resisting the Burmese invasion. In the meantime the Burmese invaders received the news that the Peguers were in revolt and they had to leave Manipur after occupying it for 13 days. Jai Singh pursued them somewhat successfully and decided to continue the war against their foreign enemies. At about this time Ajit Shah, encouraged by the perilous position of his nephew Jai Singh, represented his case to the English through the Raja of Tipperah, and declared that he had been unjustly deposed from the throne and expelled from his country. When Jai Singh came to know of this he deputed his Vakil Haridas Gossain with a letter to Mr. Verelst at Chittagong stating why his uncle Ajit Shah had been dethroned. The British examined the *pros* and *cons* of the case and were ultimately convinced of the guilt of Ajit Shah. They not only decided to support the claims of Jai Singh to the throne but also expressed their willingness to help him in the war against the Burmese. The Vakil of Jai Singh, proposed 9 articles or terms to Mr. Verelst as the basis of an alliance to be negotiated between them on

behalf of their respective masters. After some discussion the terms of the alliance (3) were finally settled on the 14th September 1762 and signed by Haridas Gossain at Chittagong. Diplomatic relations between the British and the State of Manipur date from that day. The following are the articles of the alliance proposed by Haridas Gossain on behalf of Jai Singh, Raja of Manipur, to Harry Verelst, Chief of Chittagong, acting on behalf of the Hon'ble United East India Company :—

- (1) " That the said Jai Singh, his master, shall be assisted with such of the the troops as from time to time can be spared for the recovery of such lands and effects belonging to the said Jai Singh as he hath been dispossessed of by the Burmahs (Burmese)."
- (2) " That for the assistance of such English troops the said Jai Singh is willing and ready to pay at the immediate expiration of every month all and every expense and contingent expenses of such troops then due so long as they may remain in his service."
- (3) " That the said Jai Singh is willing and ready to join with all his force the said English forces to obtain full and ample satisfaction for all and every injury the said English have from time to time suffered by the Burmahs at the Negrairje (Negrais) or any other place during the said Burmah's administration when in any time in possession of Pegu."
- (4) " That the said Jai Singh will from the time of signing these articles, consider such injuries as have been done by the Burmahs (Burmese) to the said English as injuries done to himself and that the said Jai Singh will ever hereafter be ready to resent any new insult or hindrance the English trade or people may meet with at Pegu, the Negrairje (Negrais) or any other part or parts at present under the Government of the Burmah Rajah or the Rajah of Pegu—also every other power or Government that may interrupt the free trade of every English subject passing into and through their countries."
- (5) " That the said Jai Singh will at all times fully consider every enemy to the said English as his own enemy and that the said English shall consider every enemy to the said Jai Singh as their enemy."
- (6) " That the said Jai Singh shall grant such lands as the said English may think proper for the building of a Factory and Fort for the transaction of their business and protection of their persons and effects in every part under his Government and that whatever part the said English may fix on for their Factory and Fort the said Jai Singh shall also grant a distance of country round such Factory and Fort of eight thousand cubits to the said English free of rent for ever."
- (7) " That the said Jai Singh shall grant permission to the English for an open trade into and through his country free of all duties, hindrance

or molestation and that the said Jai Singh will ever protect and defend the said English in the same."

- (8) "That the said Jai Singh shall not enter into any accommodation with the Burmah Rajah without the advice and approbation of the English nor shall the English enter into a separate and distinct treaty with the Burmah Rajah without previously advising the said Jai Singh."
- (9) "Should the English troops with those of Meckley be obliged to march against the Burmah Rajah in order to obtain satisfaction for their mutual injuries received and in consequence make themselves masters of the Burmah Country the said Jai Singh doth thereto agree that should the said English then give him full possession of the said Burmah country he the said Jai Singh will then make good to the said English all such losses as they have ever heretofore sustained."

Haridas Gossain in his anxiety to secure British assistance for his master gave to Mr. Verelst "a very particular account (4) of the situation of the different countries quite down to the Southern parts of Pegu" and also held out hopes of an extensive British trade from India to China. He wrote to Mr. Verelst that "when the Mecklyans and Burmahs are upon amicable terms, the China merchants (would) bring their goods down as far as Moneypore, in any quantities they find a market for." He thus tried to convince Mr. Verelst that the expulsion of the Burmese from the soil of Manipur and the securing of favourable terms from them would be of great commercial interest to the East India Company. Mr. Verelst accordingly sent a copy of this alliance, executed by Haridas Gossain, to Mr. H. Vansittart, requesting him at the same time to approve of all its conditions and to supply him with a force for the expedition. He emphasised the utility of this expedition as follows:—that "immediately on their arrival at Manipur they would be able to demand satisfaction from the Burmahs (Burmese) for all the injuries their nation (the British) have received from them at Negrais (5) and Pegu."

The letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Vansittart and the paper containing the articles of alliance, referred to above, were placed by the latter as President before the Board for consideration on the 4th October, 1762 (6). The Board were of opinion that "the articles were very favourable and the carrying such an expedition into execution may be attended, if it proves successful, with great advantages to the Hon'ble Company, but as they judge it necessary and proper, before they proceed further, to call for the opinions of Colonel Coote and Major Carnac upon the subject, they order the Secretary to summon their attendance at a Council to be held on Monday next for that purpose." So the discussion was postponed till the next Consultation which was held on the 11th

(4) Pub. O. C. 4th October, No. 5, 1762.

(5) In 1759 the British Settlers at Negrais were massacred by the Burmese at the instigation of the French.

(6) Public Papers, Vol. 1762, p. 225.

October 1762 (7). Colonel Coote being indisposed could not, however, attend the meeting, but the President (Mr. Vansittart) and Major Carnac being present, the consideration of the subject was resumed, when the President laid before the Board translations of some letters from Shah Alum, King of Delhi and his Vazir Shuja-ud-daulah, earnestly applying for British help to gain possession of the Capital (Delhi).

Let us now turn for a moment to the affairs at the Mughal Court at Delhi. In 1759 Ghazi-ud-din, the Vazir, murdered Emperor Alamgir II. The Emperor's son, who was then in Bihar, on receipt of this news proclaimed himself king under the title of Shah Alum and appointed Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, as his Vazir. Ghazi-ud-din, who refused to acknowledge Shah Alum as King, raised an army to oppose his advance to the Capital. On this the Emperor Shah Alum and Shuja-ud-daulah sought the help of the British. The Board taking the grave situation mentioned in these letters (8) in consideration decided "that it would be very imprudent at that juncture to detach any body of European troops to so distant a quarter as Meckley but at the same time held that they would not lose so favourable an opportunity of contracting an alliance with the Meckley Rajah as it might open a road to them for obtaining reparation from the Burmese for the repeated ill-treatment of the Factory at Negrainje (Negrais)."

The Board therefore came to the conclusion that for the present they "detach six Companies of Sepoys, four from hence (Calcutta) and two to be draughted from Capt. Grant's Battalion at Chittagong under the Command of Lieutenant Archibald Swinton, with two other officers, Lieutenant John Staples (9) and Ensign Scotland, to fix a post at Moneypoor (Manipur) and make themselves acquainted with the strength and disposition of the Burmahs (Burmese) and the situation of their Country." The Board further agreed "to write to their officers at the Chittagong Factory informing them of their aforesaid resolution and to acquaint them that Mr. Verelst may either accompany the troops himself, or send Mr. Marriott or Mr. Rumbold, either of whose orders they must in such case be directed to follow." The Board also recommended that "the gaining exact intelligence on the heads above mentioned, and cultivating the further friendship of the Meckley Rajah, should be the objects of their chief care, but that they are on no account to proceed any further or commence hostilities against the Burmahs (Burmese), until they shall receive our future orders in consequence of the intelligence they may receive and send us."

At last a detachment destined for the Meckley expedition safely reached Chittagong about December 1762 (10). In January 1763 it left Chittagong for

(7) *Ibid.* p. 235.

(8) *Public Progs.* Vol. 1762, pp. 293—40.

(9) Afterwards Member of Council at Fort William from November, 1782, to November, 1787.

(10) Volume of Records obtained from I. O., September, 1762 to November, 1764, p. 85.

Manipur under Mr. Verelst. It reached Khaspur, near Badarpur, in April, but suffered so much from rain and disease amidst pestilential swamps that it melted away and the remnant fell back to Jainagar, on the left bank of the River Barak, whence they eventually returned to Bengal—thus recalling to memory the fateful retreat of Mir Jumla, under similar circumstances; from Assam where he led in 1662 A.D. the Imperial host of Aurangzib to annex it to the Mughal Empire.

In the following year a declaration (11) was received from Chittagong dated 11th September 1763 from Gour Shah (again in temporary regal power), which while confirming all the articles of the aforesaid alliance pleaded his inability to pay in cash which he was bound to pay on behalf of Jai Singh to the English according to the second article of the alliance. But he agreed to meet the expenses referred to therein by the "products of Meckley." The following is the full text of Gour Shah's declaration:—"I am to observe that, since the Burmahs (Burmese) have overrun and destroyed a great part of the dominions of Meckley, it is not in my power to make such payments in actual species either of gold or silver. But I agree to pay all such expenses as have already accrued to the English in their late march towards Meckley and all such expense as hereafter may accrue to them in their future march to Meckley, to be paid from time to time in such goods and merchandize as are procurable in my country: and which I agree to deliver to the English at Raung Roong at their annexed rates (12) and conditions, but such quantities as are specified in the annexed list (13) shall be delivered as the first payment immediately on the English troops getting up to Meckley. And I am now willing to pay in ready money towards this agreement five hundred Meckley Gold rupees to be valued at twelve silver rupees each. So soon as the English shall enable me to work the gold mine on the banks of the River Brahmaputra in the dominions of Meckley, as well as any other mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, copper, precious stones and mines of all kinds whatever, now known or what hereafter may be discovered in Meckley, I am willing and agree to pay all expenses in the working of the said mines; and also to give the English three-fourths of products of the same towards defraying the general expense of their troops in my employ. Which products with my goods and merchandize I agree to pay them from time to time till the whole expense of their assisting me is discharged. When and on all accounts between us being settled and adjusted, I am then to be released from any such further stipulated payments. But hereby agree that the said English are to reside in Meckley as merchants on the full terms and privileges as are stipulated in the Treaty of the 14th September 1762." The products of Meckley which Gour Shah agreed to pay annually to the East India Company towards the expenses of their troops

(11) Public Progs. Vol. July—December, 1763, pp. 1330-31.

(12) Annexure A.

(13) Annexure B.

employed on his account in Manipur were valued at Rs. 56,850 (14). Out of this Gour Shah agreed to pay within one month after the arrival of the English troops at Raung Roong articles valued at Rs. 26,050 (15). It does not appear from the records whether the balance of the articles was supplied to the East India Company. Probably this was not done, for we find that the British at this stage broke off the negotiations.

Jai Singh died in 1799, on his way to a pilgrimage at Bhagwangola, in Murshidabad district, after a long and chequered reign of nearly 40 years. His eldest son Harcha Chandra succeeded him, but was murdered, after a reign of two years. Jai Singh's second son, who was the next king, also met with the same fate 5 years later. A third son Chaurjit Singh, ascended the vacant throne, and the fourth, Marjit Singh, thereupon engaged in a series of useless conspiracies. On the invitation of Marjit Singh the King of Ava invaded Manipur in 1812. Chaurjit Singh and his youngest brother Gambhir Singh fled and Marjit Singh was placed on the throne. Marjit Singh put to death all other likely rival candidates to the throne. In 1818 he invaded Cachar. Its king Govinda Chandra, failing to get British help, solicited the aid of Chaurjit Singh who was at that time living in Jaintia, after his dethronement. The latter at once came to his assistance. Marjit Singh promptly retreated to Manipur while Chaurjit Singh established himself in the South of Cachar which Govinda Chandra is said to have promised him as a reward for his services. In the following year the Burmese again attacked Manipur and drove Marjit to Cachar. He now became reconciled to his brother Chaurjit and helped him to drive away Govinda Chandra from Cachar. In 1823 their nephew Pitambar Singh led a force into Manipur and dispossessing a man named Subal who had been installed by the Burmese, proclaimed himself king. Gambhir Singh, thereupon collected a small force and marched against Pitambar and defeated him. Pitambar fled to Ava, but Manipur was by this time so utterly exhausted that Gambhir Singh was unable to maintain his troops there and was forced to return to Cachar. There he quarrelled with Chaurjit who retired to Sylhet. At about this time the Burmese again took possession of Manipur and prepared themselves for an attack of Cachar. This was prevented by the intervention of the British who restored Govinda Chandra to the throne of Cachar. They also assisted Gambhir Singh to regain Manipur. This arrangement was confirmed by the Treaty of Yandabu which was executed between the British and the Burmese in 1826. 90175

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,

(14) Public Progs. Vol. 3763, pp. 1331-2.

(15) Ibid, p. 1332.

ANNEXURE A.

Products of Meckley which Gour Shah agreed to give annually to the East India Company.

(1) Silk	...	10 maunds	@ Rs. 5 per seer	...	2,000
(2) Iron	...	1,000	@ Rs. 4 per maund	...	4,000
(3) Copass	...	1,000	@ Rs. 1½	...	1,500
(4) Dammer	...	1,000	@ Rs. 1½	...	1,500
(5) Wood oil	...	1,000	@ Rs. 1½	...	1,500
(6) Wax	...	500	@ Rs. 20	...	10,000
(7) Elephant teeth	...	100	@ Rs. 20	...	2,000
(8) Agar	...	100	@ Rs. 4	...	16,000
(9) Camphor	...	10	@ Rs. 80	...	800
(10) Black thread	...	100	@ Rs. 20	...	2,000
(11) Red	...	100	@ Rs. 20	...	2,000
(12) Blue	...	100	@ Rs. 20	...	2,000
(13) White	...	200	@ Rs. 20	...	4,000
(14) Black Coss	...	10	@ Rs. 1½	...	750
(15) Meckley cloths	...	500	@ Rs. 2	...	800
(16) .. gold rupees	...	500	@ 12 Silver rupees each	...	6,000
TOTAL				...	56,850

ANNEXURE B.

Products which Gour Shah promised to deliver within one month after the arrival of the English troops.

(1) Silk	...	...	...	...	5 maunds.
(2) Iron	...	...	...	...	500
(3) Copass	...	...	...	...	500
(4) Dammer	...	...	...	...	500
(5) Wax	...	...	...	...	250
(6) Elephant teeth	...	...	...	...	50
(7) Agar	...	...	...	...	20
(8) Black thread	...	...	...	...	50
(9) Red thread	...	...	...	...	50
(10) Blue thread	...	...	...	...	50
(11) White thread	...	...	...	...	100
(12) Meckley cloths	...	...	...	...	500 pieces.
(13) .. gold rupees	...	...	...	...	150.

Baptisms in Calcutta: 1778 to 1782

THE list of Baptisms in Calcutta from 1767 to 1788 (of which a second instalment is now printed covering the period from 1778 to 1782) completes the transcript made by the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge, of the Imperial Library, from the Registers of St. John's Church. Previous extracts from the Registers have appeared in the following volumes of *Bengal Past and Present*:

Baptisms in Calcutta: 1713 to 1758: Vol. XXI. pp. 143 to 159.
 1759 to 1766: Vol. V. pp. 325 to 332.
 1767 to 1777: Vol. XXV. pp. 130 to 155.

Marriages in Calcutta: 1713 to 1754: Vol. IX. pp. 217 to 243.
 1759 to 1779: Vol. IV. pp. 486 to 512.
 1780 to 1785: Vol. VII. pp. 164 to 171.
 1785 to 1792: Vol. XVI. pp. 41 to 71.
 1781 to 1800 (Supplementary Register): Vol. XXI. pp. 76 to 141.

Burials in Calcutta: 1713 to 1755: Vol. X. pp. 257 to 284.
 1759 to 1761: Vol. V. pp. 136 to 142.
 1762 to 1774: Vol. VI. pp. 92 to 106.

NOTE.—Many of the succeeding entries refer to individuals who figure in the entries from 1767 to 1777, and of whom biographical details have been given in that connection. For obvious reasons, the information has not been repeated.

1778.

- Jan. 2 Diana, daughter of Wm. Cotes, Jr. Mercht., and Diana, his wife.
- „ 4 Sally, daughter of the late Wm. Ayres, Soldr., and Elizth., his wife.
- „ 16 Alexr. Henry, son of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Mercht.
- „ 17 Sophia Frances Chicheley, daughter of Capt. Richd. Chicheley Plowden and Elizth. Sophia, his wife. (1).
- „ 17 Frederic Christian, son of Major Fischer, Hon. Co.'s Mily. Service, and Elizth., his wife.
- „ 13 Rich., son of Richd. Barwell, Esq., Member of the Supreme Council, and Elizth. his wife. Omitted in the proper place. (2).
- „ 25 Elizth, daughter of Wm. Wilkins and Mary, his wife.

- Feb. 15 Henry Willm., son of Simeon Droze Esq., Member of the Board of Trade, and Mary, his wife. (3).
 „ 10 Elizth. Amelia, daughter of Mr. Wm. Jackson, Register of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife. Omitted above. (4)).
 „ 13 Caroline, daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Fortnom and Jane, his wife.
- Mar. 1 John, son of John Kyles, Gunner of Arty.
 „ 1 Elizth, daughter of John Hallon, Soldr.
 „ 3 Saml., son of Mr. Jos. Hodgson.
 „ 3 Frances, daughter of Mr. Saml. Wildman.
 „ 25 Thos., son of Lieut.-Col. Hampton, H. C.'s Mily. Service and Margt., his wife.
- Apr. 3 Eleanora, daughter of Mr. Jas. Miller, writer, H. C.'s service.
 „ 22 Elizth. Millicent, daughter of Major Horton Briscoe and Millicent, his wife.
 „ 26 Willm., son of Wm. Francis, Soldr.
- May 5 John, son of William Berrie, Drummer.
 „ 5 Mary, daughter of Francis Latour, Matross.
 „ 10 Sarah, daughter of Edward Jackson, Soldr.
 „ 17 James, son of William Browne.
 „ 24 Sarah, daughter of Saml. Keedy, Soldr.
 „ 25 Geo. Peter, son of Mr. Peter Moore, Jr. Mercht. H. C.'s service, and Sarah, his wife. (5).
- June 11 Phillip John, son of Mr. Ducarel, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service. (6).
 „ 12 Jas., son of Mr. J. Anderson, Jr. Mercht., Do.
 „ 12 Mary, daughter of the deceased Capt. Edwd. Shewin.
 „ 17 John Clavering, son of Lieut. Wm. Wood and (blank), his wife.
 „ 21 Nancy, daughter of W. Larkman, Soldr.
 „ 22 Henrietta, daughter of Sir Robt. Chambers, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature and Frances, his wife. (7).
- July 12 John, Henry and Henrietta, children of Mr. Prinsep. (8).
- Aug. 8 Nathaniel Thornhill, son of Capt. Saml. Howe Showers, H. C.'s Mily. Service and Anne, his wife, lately deceased. (9).
 „ 16 Alexr., son of Alexr. Ross, Serjt.
- Sept. 7 Mary, daughter of Mr. Ralph Winstanley Wood, Free Mercht. and Mary, his wife.
- Oct. 3 Francis Jas., son of Mr. Saml. Peat, Attorney at law, and Mary, his decd. wife. (10).

- Nov. 6 Thos., son of Mr. J. E. Keighly, Sr. Mercht., and Mary, his wife. (11).
 „ 11 Robt. Roquier, son of John Roquier, Comdr. of Ordinance.
 „ 13 Cudbert, son of Chas. Sealy, Esq., advocate, and Mary, his wife. (12).
 „ 15 Ann, daughter of John Hepingstall, Serjt.
 „ 22 Margt., daughter of Jas. Hook, Carpenter.
 „ 28 Simeon Barwell, son of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth., his wife.
 „ 29 Sarah, daughter of Jacob Harvey, Soldr.

- Dec. 13 Charlotte, daughter of Thos. Cox, Corpl. of Arty.
 „ 13 Daniel, son of John Merley, Sergt. of Militia.
 „ 13 Thos., son of Richd. Moore, Serjt. of Arty.
 „ 13 Elizth, daughter of Jos. Tame, Matross.
 „ 18 Sarah, daughter of Chas. Purling, Esq., (13).
 „ 20 Mary, daughter of Conside Knobb, Soldr.
 „ 20 Peter, son of Peter Cousins, Soldr.

1779.

- Jan. 3 Maria, daughter of Geo. Lane, Corpl.
 „ 6 Marian, daughter of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and Mary, his wife. (14).
 „ 7 John Henry, son of Edwd. Hardwicke. (15).
 „ 10 Catharine, daughter of Wm. Wilkins, Serjt., and Mary, his wife.
 „ 16 Ann, daughter of Edwd. Golding, Esq., and (blank) his wife. (16).
 „ 17 Josias, son of Josias Sanders, Soldr.
 „ 20 Eliza Mariam, (sic) daughter of Major Camac. (17).

- Feb. 3 Elizabeth Hannah, daughter of Mr. Wm. Fenwicke, Inhabt., and Elizth., his wife.
 „ 7 James, son of Joseph Bolton, Gunner.
 „ 8 Edwd. Jas., son of Richd. Barwell, Esq., second of the Supreme Council, and Elizth., his deceased wife. (18).
 „ 9 Francis, son of Mr. Francis Balfour, Surgn., and Amelia, his wife. (19).
 „ 14 Diana, daughter of Alexr. McCarty, Serjt., Arty., and Anna Maria, his wife.
 „ 21 Jos. Geo., son of Major Wm. Tolley, H. C.'s service and Anna Maria, his wife.

- Mar. 8 Georgiana Grueber, daughter of Mr. Wm. Larkins, Sr. Mercht, H. C.'s service, and Mary, his wife.
 „ 26 Evan Edmund Hastings Pascal, son of Mr. Alexr. Murray and Frances, his wife.
 „ 27 Catherine, daughter of Willm. Howard and Elizth., his wife. (20).

- Apr. ... Elizth., daughter of Mr. Saml. Weller and Rose, his wife.
 „ 21 John, son of Chas. Newman, Esq., Advocate.
- May 16 Lydia, daughter of Elias Cowleshaw, Serjt.
 „ 16 Thos., son of Thos. Green, Soldr.
 „ 18 Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Saml. Skardon and Mary, his wife.
 „ 23 Francis, son of Jas. Craigg, Serjt. and Elizth., his decd. wife.
 „ 27 Chas. Catchmaid, son of Lt.-Col. Chas. Morgan and Hannah, his wife.
- June 13 Elizth, daughter of John Davey, Gunner.
 „ 27 Mary, daughter of Saml. Davis, Soldr.
 „ 29 Edwd. Chicheley, son of Capt. Richd. Chicheley Plowden and Sophia, his wife.
- July 1 Martha Isaac, f. A person of riper years, renouncing the Jewish religion, baptised according to the rites and ceremonies of the Ch. of England, by the name of Martha.
 „ 18 Robt. Joseph, son of Sir Robert Chambers, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and Frances, his wife. (21).
 „ 30 Louisa Alicia, daughter of Simeon Droze, Esq., Member of the Bd of Trade, and Mary, his wife.
- Aug. 6 Elijah Barwell, son of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice Supreme Court of Judicature, and Ann, his wife. (22).
 • „ 22 John, son of Patrick Laray, Serjt. of Arty., and Mary Rozaris, his wife.
- Sept. 1 Maria, daughter of Wm. Jackson, Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife.
 „ 13 Elizth. Ann, daughter of Mr. Ezekiel Davis Wilson, Lt. H. C.'s Mily. Service.
 „ 18 Augustin, son of Augustin Sayer.
 „ 22 Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Geo. Harrison and Mary, his wife.
 „ 26 Willm. son of John Campbell, Invalid.
 „ ... Saml., son of Saml. Heglid, Serjt.-Major.
 „ ... Finally, son of Finally Ross, Soldr.
- Oct. 3 Frederick, son of Fredk. Thompson, Soldr.
 „ 9 Frances, daughter of Mr. Edwd. Rowland Jackson, Lieut. H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Phoebe, his wife (23).
 „ 17 Richd., son of John Humback, Soldr.
 „ 17 Henry, son of Henry Eam, Gunner.
 „ 18 Maria Sarah, daughter of Mr. Peter Moore, Sr. Mercht., and Sarah his wife.
- 19

- „ 22 Jane, daughter of Mr. Wm. Marriott, Sr. Mercht., and Jane, his wife. „
 „ 22 Anne, daughter of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Mercht.

Nov. 7 James, son of Jas. Barton, Collr. of the Revenues at Boglepore, and Melicent, his wife. Born Nov. 7, 1775. Baptd. by her (sic) father, no Clergyman or person in Holy Orders being within distance or nearer than Calcutta, upwards of 250 miles. The sponsors then were Richd. Barwell, Esq., one of the Members of the Supreme Council, by his Proxy, Mr. Augs. Cleveland; Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq., by his Proxy, Mr. Michael Riddell; and Mrs. Hyde. Subsequently Baptised according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Ch. of England, the sponsors being the said Richd. Barwell, Esq., in person, Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq., by his Proxy, Wm. Barton, Esq., brother of the above said Jas. Barton, and the said Mrs. Hyde, by her Proxy, Miss Diana Bertie. In the presence of Joseph Cator and North Naylor, Esqs., Mrs. Naylor and others (24).

- „ 7 Barnabas, son of James Russell, Corpl.
 „ 7 Isabella, daughter of James Ellis, Invalid.
 „ 14 James, son of Jas. Cornwell, Gunner of Arty.
 „ 21 Thos., son of Wm. Fowler, Gunner of Arty.
 „ 23 Cordelia, daughter of Mr. Thos. Adams and Elizth, his wife.

Dec. 1 Christopher Wm., son of Mr. Edwd. Fenwick, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service (25).

- „ 1 Sarah Francisca, daughter of Mr. Saml. Touchet, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service.

„ 12 Sarah Anne, daughter of Mr. John Williams.

„ 12 Richd., son of Richd. Creamer, Soldr.

„ 19 Benjamin, son of Benjn. McInch, Soldr. in the Arty.

„ 23 Charlotte Caroline Maria, daughter of Mr. Thos. Hincham, Sr. Mercht., Resdt. at Maldah, and (blank), his wife. Born at Maldah, 3rd July, 1775 at 2 o'clock A. M. Sponsors: Lady James and Miss Anna Lawes, and Geo. Mackay, Esq., of London, by their Proxies, Mrs. Ironside, Mrs. Smith and Mr. Henchman. (26).

- „ 26 Thos., son of John Williams, Soldr.

Feb. 10, 1779, Geo. Herbert of Capt. Lawrence Call,

Futtyghur. (Born Feb. 10, 1779) s. Commdt. of the Berrelli

Feb. 15, 1780, Marian Corps & Quarter-Master-

Berrelli. (Born Jan. 14, 1780). d. General of the Great

Feb. 4 1781, Sophia Mogul's Troops in Oudh,

Cawnpore. (Born Jan. 2, 1781) d. and Sophia, his wife (27).

The Revd.
Mr. Hulse.

1780.

- Jan. 10 Sophia, daughter of Mr. Oliver. (Aged 4 years and 23* months).
 „ 10 Elizth., daughter of Oliver. (Aged 15 months).
 „ 10 George, son of Mr. Henry Chandler. (Aged 1 year, 23* months).
 „ 18 Elizth., daughter of Lieut. Robt. Gumley. •
 „ 18 Willm., son of the said Mr. Gumley.
 „ 22 Frederick Stukeley, son of Lt. Wm. Foster and Diana, his decd. wife. •
 „ 22 Henry, son of Mr. Henry Waddell and Anne, his wife.
 „ 22 Anne, daughter of Do. Do.
 „ 23 Alexr. Henry, son of Mr. Jos. Bernard Smith, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service, (28). •
 „ 26 Robt. Thos., son of Mr. John Scott, Free Mercht. (29).
 (Born 12th Aug., 1773).
 „ 29 Anne, daughter of Mr. Robt. Robertson and (blank), his wife.
 „ 30 Lewis Augs., son of John Pascal and Anne, his wife.
 „ 30 Edwd., son of Mr. Edwd. Brightman and Mary, his wife. (30).
- Feb. 7 Molly, daughter of John Milles, Master Pilot Service, & Helene, his wife.
 „ 20 Frances, daughter of Mr. Francis L'herondell & Mary, his wife. (31).
 „ 22 Jas, son of Mr. Alexr. Falkener. (Born May, 20, 1776).
 „ 25 Hannah Paulina, daughter of Mr. Bryan Glover & Eliza Stuart, his wife. •
- Mar. 5 Robt, son of Aaron Spencer & Charlotte, his wife. (32).
 „ 12 Robt, son of Mr. Thos. Ivory. (32A).
 • (Born 19th Dec., 1776).
 „ 12 Catherine, daughter of Mr. Thos. Ivory.
 (Born 27th Oct., 1778).
 „ 19 Ann, daughter of John Griffith, Soldr.
 „ 19 John, son of John Griffith, Soldr.
 „ 22 Harriet Chicheley, daughter of Capt. Richd. Chicheley Plowden & Sophia, his wife. (33).
 •
 „ 27 Henry John, son of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Mercht., & Alicia, his wife. •
 „ 28 Mary daughter of Mr. Jas Isnell, Carpenter. •
- Apr. 7 Amelia, daughter of Mr. Thos. Evans, Factor, H. C.'s service, & Augusta, his wife. (34).
 „ 14 Marian, daughter of Mr. Larkins, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service, & Mary his wife. (35).

•*Sic in Register. This may possibly mean "between 2 and 3 months." (Ed. B. P. and P.).

- .. 22 Willm, son of Mr. G. G. Ducarel, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service.
 .. 25 Thos, son of Mr. Henry Richardson, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s service
 and Frances his wife.
 .. 30 Jane, daughter of John Helrat, Soldr.
 .. 30 Francis, son of Francis Richardson, Soldr.
- May 21 Henry Dunbar, son of Major Willm. Tolly, H. C.'s service & Anna
 Maria his wife.
- June 2 Elizth, daughter of Lt.-Col. Arthur Ahmuty & Ursula, his wife.
 .. 4 Martha, daughter of Mr. Jacob Barnett, & Jessey, his wife.
 .. 6 Saml. Coote, son of Wm. Byam Martin, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s
 service, and Charlotte, his wife. (36).
 .. 18 Jane, daughter of Thos. Tyler, Pilot, H. C.'s service.
- July 5 Harriet Ann, daughter of North Naylor, Esq., Atty.-at-law, &
 Ann, his decd. wife. Godfathers: Mr. Droz, Proxy for His
 Grace the Duke of Ancaster, & Mr. Cator. Godmothers:
 Mrs. Droz, Proxy for Lady Priscilla Burrel, Miss Diana
 Bertie for Miss Bertie, (37).
 .. 21 Geo. Leofrick Warren, son of Mr. Geo. Mainwaring Kenderdine,
 Surgn., H. C.'s Service (38).
 .. 31 Elizth. Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Willm. Richardson, Capt. of a
 country ship.
- Aug. 4 Willm., son of John Bristow, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service.
 ((Born at Calcutta in July, 1778).
 .. 4 Charlotte, daughter of John Bristow, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s
 Service. (Born at Delhi in March, 1776). Sponsors: Wm.
 Bristow, Esq., Capt. Nutt by his proxy Mr. Stark & Mr. Shore
 by his proxy Mr. Ogylby. Godmothers, Mrs. Anne Judith
 Bristow & Miss Bristow. Godfather: Geo. Luins (sic. query:
 Livius). Esq., by his proxy Mr. Stark. (39).
 .. 5 Charles, son of Wm. Maxwell, Esq., Chief of Patna.
 .. 17 Helen, daughter of Capt. Chas. Russell Deare, H. C.'s Arty., &
 Anne (sic) Catherine, his wife. (40).
 .. 17 Elizth, daughter of the above Capt. Deare.
- Oct. 10 Mary, daughter of Mr. Dugal Campbell.
 .. 24 Eliza, daughter of Nathl. Middleton, Esq., Aged 22 mos. (41).
 .. 24 Henry Geo. son of Nathl. Middleton, Esq., Aged 11 mos.
 .. 24 Frances Jane, daughter of Wm. Jackson, Atty.-at-Law, and
 Margaret his wife.

- Nov. 4 Frances Alicia, daughter of Wm. Hosea, Esq., Chief of Moorshedabad, & Mary, his wife.
- „ 5 Harriet Larkins, daughter of Lieut Saml. Watson, H. C.'s Service, & Mary, his wife.
- „ 11 Margt., daughter of John Petrie, Esq., H. C.'s Civil Service & Ann his wife (42).
- „ 17 Anne Elizth, daughter of Mr. Wm. Haverkam, Sr. Mercht., & Ann his wife. (43).
- Dec. 2 Willm, son of Mr. Peters, Commdr. : of a country vessel, & Ann, his wife.
- „ 2 Maria, daughter of Mr. Francis L'herondell & Maria, his decd. wife.

1781.

- Jan. 2 Willm. Warren, son of Mr. Raph Winstanley Wood & Mary, his wife.
- „ 2 Warren Hastings, daughter (sic) of Major Lewis Grant, H. C.'s Service, & Agnes, his wife.
- „ 4 Geo. Herbert, son of Mr. Jos. Hodson.
- „ 4 Chas., son of Saml. Stuart.
- „ 4 Jas., son of John Abraham & Maria, his wife.
- „ 7 Willm. Eldred, son of Mr. Edwd. Hardwicke.
- „ 24 Mary, daughter of Willm. Howard & Elizth., his wife.
- Feb. 20 Eliza Matilda, daughter of Mr. Sherman Bird, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service and Susannah his wife.
- „ 20 Caroline, daughter of Mr. Sherman Bird, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s service and Susannah his wife. Godfather : Mr. Shakespear. Godmothers : Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. Harrison by their proxies Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Coales. Godfather : Mr. Bathurst. Godmothers : Mrs. Bird and Miss Morressy, by their proxies Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Coales. (44).
- Mar. 24 Mary, daughter of Mr. Jas. Hennes, Inhabt. (45).
- „ 25 Maria Theresa, daughter of Lt.-Col. Totttingham, H. C.'s Service, & Theresa, his wife.
- „ 29 Alicia, daughter of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Mercht., & Alicia, his wife.;
- Apr. 12 Hampton Silvester, son of Major Saml. Howe Showers, H. C.'s Service, & Melian, his wife.
- „ 13 Elizth, daughter of Andrew McDowall, Serjt. of Invalids.
- May 7 Warren Rowland, son of Lieut. Edwd. Rowland Jackson, H. C.'s Mily. Service, & Phoebe, his wife.

- „ 16 Willm. John, son of Lt.-Col. Chas. Morgan & Hannah, his wife.
 „ 16 Anna Maria, daughter of Lt.-Col. Chas. Morgan & Hannah, his wife.
 „ 16 Olivia, daughter of Lt.-Col. Chas. Morgan & Hannah, his wife.
 (Aged 5 years).
 „ 16 Thos. Dynely, son of Mr. Chas. Short.
 „ 16 John, son of Wm. Nathan Wright Hewett, (46).
 „ 24 Selina, daughter of Jas. Irwin, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, & Selina, his wife. (46A).
 June 3 Robt, son of Simon Helletz & Barbara, his wife.
 „ 7 Edwd. Collins, son of Sir Robt. Chambers, one of the Judges of the Sup. Ct. of Judicature & Frances, his wife. (47).
 July 17 Robt, son of Lieut. Robt. Voung.
 „ 27 Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Jas. Collic, Asst. Surgn., H. C.'s Service & Ann, his wife.
 Sep. 30 James, son of Capt. Richd. Sturgeon.
 Oct. 14 Geo, male; slave-boy of Mr. Pennington.
 „ 17 Willm, son of Mr. Francis Fowke, (48).
 Nov. 11 John, son of John Petrie, Esq., H. C.'s Service, & Ann, his wife. Godfathers: Mr. Wm. Bruyere, & Mr. Wm. Petrie, by his proxy, John Petrie, Esq. (49).
 „ 15 Jesse daughter of Mr. Pat. Heatly, Factor, H. C.'s Service. (50).
 „ 15 Philadelphia, daughter of Capt. Robt. McMurdo, H. C.'s Service.
 „ 15 Douglas, son of Capt. Robt. McMurdo, H. C.'s Service.
 Dec. 1 Eleanora Sophia, daughter of Mr. Robt. Robertson & (blank), his wife. (50A).
 „ 16 Elizth, daughter of John Cooper, Invalid, and Lucy, his wife.

1782.

- Jan. 11 John, son of Mr. Jno. Stormont, Surgn., & Janet, his wife. (51).
 „ 13 Maria Magdalene, daughter of Christian Dentis, Soldr.
 „ 21 Ann, daughter of Capt. Willm. Richardson.
 „ 30 Willm. Jno, son of Capt. Wm. Sands, H. C.'s Service & Christina, his wife. (52).
 „ 31 Frances Maria, daughter of Mr. Andrew Williams, Surgn.-Major, H. C.'s Service, & Elizth., his wife.
 Feb. 2 Charlotte, daughter of Wm. Hosca, Esq., Chief of Muxadabad & Mary, his wife. Godfathers: Sir Robt. Chambers & Major Metcalf by his proxy Mr. Templar. Godmothers: Mrs. Wheeler & Mrs. Moore.

- .. 2 Eliza, daughter of John Shakespear, Esq., late Chief of Dacca.
Godfather: Mr. Hosea. Godmothers: Mrs. Hosea, & Mrs.
Martin by her proxy Lady Chambers. (53).
- .. 4 Charlotte, daughter of Edwd. Wheler, Esq., 1st Member, Supreme
Council, & Charlotte, his wife. Godfather: Geo. Livius;
Esq. Godmothers: Lady Wheler by her proxy Mrs. Hyde,
& Lady Chambers by her proxy Mrs. Watson. (54).
- .. 21 Hannah, daughter of Mr. Swinhoe & (blank) his wife. (55).
- .. 22 Eliza, daughter of Mr. Saxon of Omeidpore.
- .. 25 Harriet Sophia, daughter of Simeon Droz, Esq., Member, Bd. of
Trade, & Mary, his wife.
- .. 28 Elizth, daughter of Mr. Thos. Ivory.
- Mar 2 Apollonia Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Wm. Larkins, Junior Mercht.
H. C.'s Service & Mary, his wife. (56).
- .. 7 Harriet, daughter of Mr. Jas. Miller.
- .. 9 Detlef, son of Mr. Detlef Ehlers & Nancy, his wife, at Serrampore.
Sponsors.—Godfathers: Ole Bie, Esq., Govr. of Serampore,
Neils Ryberg, Esq., Counsellor of Conference to His Danish
Majesty, by his proxy J. F. Junghans, Esq., Pro. Ehlers by
his proxy C. W. Duntzfelt, Esq., Capt Clements by his
proxy Jos. Brandt, Esq. Godmother: Mrs. U. Billefelt. (57).
- .. 11 Thos. Henry Robertson, son of Mr. Stark, Surgeon, Hon. Co.'s
Service. (58).
- .. 11 Eliza, daughter of Mr. Stark, Surgeon, Hon. Co.'s Service.
- .. 20 William, son of Major Willm. Palmer, H. C.'s Mily. Service. (59).
- .. 29 Cordelia, daughter of Mr. Jos. Bernard Smith, Sr. Mercht., H.
C.'s Service, & Rose, his wife.
- Apr. 7 John, son of Major John McDonald, H. C.'s Service.
- .. 7 Simeon, son of Mr. John Hollow & Theodosia, his wife.
- .. 7 Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Launcelot Oliphant.
- .. 8 Susannah, daughter of Thos. Lumberry, Mariner.
- .. 12 Samuel, son of Mr. Chas. Eaton, Atty.-at-law, & Eulalie, his wife.
- .. 14 Samuel, son of Saml. Morris, Serjt.
- .. 14 Elizth, daughter of Wm. Fergusson, Gunner.
- May 1 Hastings, son of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice, Supreme Court
of Judicature, & Mary, his wife. (60).
- .. 26 Willm., son of Wm. Brown, Serjt.-Major of Sepoys, & Roza de
Rozaris, his wife.
- June 2 Margt., daughter of Conwroth Conop, Invalid.
- .. 9 Thos., son of Jas. Garner, Corpl.
- .. 11 Robt., son of Col. Hampton, H. C.'s Service, & Margaret, his wife.
- .. 16 Andrew, son of Frederick Thompson, Serjt. of Arty.

- „ 18 Willm. Henry, son of Chas. Sealy, Esq., Advocate, & Mary, his wife. (61).
 „ 18 Edwd. Chas., son of Thos. Whinyates, Esq., H. C.'s Mil. Service, & Catherine, his wife. (Born 6th May last). (62).
 „ 20 Henry Chicheley, son of Mr. Henry Plowden, H. C.'s Civil Service; & Eugenia, his wife. (63).
 „ 24 John James, son of Mr. Jas. Hennès & Mary, his wife.
 „ 25 Geo. Henry, son of Mr. Geo. Templer & Joan, his wife. (64).
 „ 30 Mary, daughter of Mr. Jas. Neish, Lieut. of Arty.; Madras Estbt
 July 2 Harriet, daughter of Mr. Wm. Jackson, Register, (Supreme Court) & Margt., his wife.
 „ 4 Elizth., daughter of Mr. Thos. Burges.
 „ 25 Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Wm. Maxwell, late Chief of Patna.
 Aug. 1 Alexr., son of Mr. Alexr. Montgomerie, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, & Maria, his wife.
 „ 11 Amy, daughter of Saml. Northam, Serjt.-Major in the Body Guard of Governour-General.
 „ 25 John, son of John Story.
 „ 30 John Coote, son of Mr. Henry Grant, Free Trader, & Alicia, his wife.
 Sept. 5 Frances, daughter of Mr. Brampton, Atty.-at-law. (65).
 „ 20 Elizth. Ann, d. of Mr. Alexr. Mercer, Supdt. of the Adawlet at Willm., Patna.
 Oct. 3 Richd., son of Willm. Francis, Serjt. of Invalids.
 „ 10 Mary, daughter of Robt. Cave, Serjt.-Major of Militia, and Punchanna, his wife.
 „ 10 John, son of John Stephenson, Serjt. and Elizth., his wife.
 „ 27 Anthony David s. of Lt.-Col. Anthony Polier, H. C.'s
 „ „ Maria d. Service, (66).
 Nov. 20 Frances, daughter of John Belli, writer, H. C.'s Service, and Eliza Stewart, his wife. (67).
 „ 22 James, son of Mr. Jas. Fraser, Free Mercht. and Mary, his wife. (68).
 Dec. 3 Richd. Chicheley, son of Mr. Chicheley Plowden, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Sophia, his wife, (69).
 „ 5 Selina, daughter of Mr. John Stormont, Surgn., H. C.'s Service.
 „ 11 Belvedeira Harriet, daughter of Major Wm. Tolley and Anna Maria, his wife. (70).
 „ 19 Eliza, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Allen Macpherson and Eliza, his wife. (71).

[The entries unless otherwise indicated, are all signed by William Johnson, Chaplain, at the end of each month.]

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

(1) *Richard Chicheley Plowden*. Subsequently a Director of the East India Company from 1803 to 1829. Died in February, 1830. Came out to India with Edward Wheler in April, 1777, when the latter was appointed to the vacancy caused by Colonel Monson's death. Cf. "Memoirs of William Hickey" (Vol. II, p. 102): "Mr. Wheler's party consisted of himself, Mrs. Wheler, Miss Durnford (who upon the death of Mrs. Wheler a few months after her reaching Bengal supplied her place, the widower endeavouring to console himself for his domestic loss in her arms), Captain Richard Chicheley Plowden (now a Director of the East India Company) and his wife: Mr. Markham, eldest son of the Archbishop of York: Mr. William Harding, Mr. John Buller, and Mr. John Melville, the four last being writers appointed to Bengal." They sailed from Portsmouth on April 30, 1777, in the *Duke of Portland* (723 tons, Capt. John Sutton): Wheler having first posted up to London with Captain Plowden in order to get the terms of his appointment to Council altered. Accompanying the *Duke of Portland* were the *York* (723 tons, Capt. John Atkinson Blanshard) and the *Seahorse* (676 tons, Capt. David Arthur), in the last named of which Hickey was a passenger, and which anchored off Saugor on November 1, 1777, fourteen days before the *Duke of Portland*. The maiden name of Mrs. Wheler, who died seven months after her arrival in Calcutta, was Harriet Chicheley Plowden. William Markham played a prominent part at the trial of Hastings, as he was Resident at Benares at the time of the insurrection of Cheyt Singh in 1781. John Buller was subsequently Resident at Tipperah.

(2) *Richard Barwell*. There is no trace in Calcutta of the after-career of this Barwell. For a note on the Barwell family: See *post* p. 184.

(3) *Henry William Droz*. writer on the Bengal Establishment, 1794: arrived in India, November 1, 1795: Commercial Resident at Rungpore, 1801, and at Cossimbazar, April 24, 1804. Died at Cossimbazar, November 18, 1824. Cf. Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, May, 1780: "We are informed that the following persons of figure and consequence are arrived at Beercool for the benefit of their health and fish:" . . . Simeon Droze, Esq. with his lady and son and heir." For Simeon Droz: see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXV, p. 147.

(4) *William Jackson*, admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court on June 8, 1775. Registrar of the Court and Company's Attorney. Died in Calcutta on August 24, 1807: "A gentleman esteemed for the strictest honour and integrity both in public and private life." (Obituary notice in *Calcutta Gazette*). Married Margaret Stewart on November 7, 1776.

(5) *George Peter Moore*: elected to the House of Commons in 1806 as member for Queenborough, but vacated his seat at the request of Fox in order to make way for Romilly. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

• For an account of *Peter Moore*, the father, see *post*, p. 180.

(6) *George Gustavus Ducarel*—see note in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV p. 154. As to the statement there made that Ducarel succeeded Alexander Elliot as Superintendent of the Khalsa Records in 1778, Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham writes :

In the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue for August, 1, 1775 (G.C.P., pp. 3370-3375) it is recorded that Ducarel was appointed to the office in question in succession to Elliot: or three years earlier than the date mentioned. He was elected by the votes of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Francis. The Governor-General and Barwell voted for George Bogle. I can vouch for the accuracy of the date as I have seen the entry in the actual record. Elliot could not therefore have been Superintendent at the time of the trial of Nuncomar, as stated by Archdeacon Firminger on p.cclxxi of the first volume of his edition of the Fifth Report on Indian Affairs of 1812 (Calcutta 1917).'

(7) *Henrietta Chambers*—died in Calcutta, July 30, 1779.

(8) *John Prinsep*—married Sophia Ayril and became father of seven famous sons. He came out as a Cadet in 1771, but never joined the Army, becoming at once an "Interloper" or "free merchant." For ten years he was contractor for the chintz investments of the Company and formed an establishment for its manufacture at Monirampore. He also introduced the manufacture of indigo into Bengal at Neelgunge, near Baraset; and set up a Mint at Pukah, where he contracted with Government for the first copper coinage ever struck in the Presidency. In 1784 he was "bought out" by Government for an amount which was two-thirds of what he expected. On leaving India he settled at Thoby Park in Essex, and became M. P. for Queenborough (1802—1806), Alderman of the City of London and Bailiff to the Court of the borough of Southwark—the last a paid office carrying a salary of £1,500 a year. James Prinsep (1799—1864) commemorated by the Ghat, was his seventh son: Henry Thoby the elder (1793—1878) the fourth: and Charles Robert Prinsep (1790—1864) Advocate-General of Bengal, the second. William Prinsep, partner of Dwarka Nath Tagore and William Carr in the firm of Carr Tagore & Co., was another son.

(9) *Nathaniel Thornhill Showers*: in O. C. of November 26, 1781, we find a letter written by the father, then Major Showers, to Brig. Gen. Giles Stibbert, provisional Commander in chief, requesting him "to alter the name of his second son now given in the cadet list as Nathaniel How Showers to Nathaniel Thornhill Showers." The candidate for a cadetship was then three years old! For another son, Charles Lionel Showers (born in 1780), see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 150.

(10) *Samuel Pent*—Attorney-at-law. Was clerk to Mr. Justice Hyde as Hickey was to Sir Henry Russell. Married Mary Cove, Spinster, on May 28, 1777. Deputy Sheriff in the same year.

(11) *James English-Keighley*—Son of Mrs. Keighley, "a widow lady of great respectability," who kept an "Academy at Streatham in Surrey, five miles from London," to which William Hickey was sent in March, 1764

(Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 41). Married Mary or Maria Higgins at St. John's Church on May 17, 1777. Was Commercial Chief at Cossimbazar, when Hickey visited Robert Pott at Afzulbaug in April 1785 and again in February 1787 (Memoirs Vol. III, pp. 278, 220) and contractor for the Company's silk investment, having also filatures of his own. "He carried on an extensive business in raw silk whereby he acquired an extensive fortune and lived with a degree of pomp and extravagance little short of Pott." Had previously (1783) been a Member of the Board of Trade "where the avowed allowance was the comparatively pitiful sum of eleven hundred rupees per month": and as such was ordered in January 1786 to be prosecuted by direction of Lord Cornwallis, along with other previous members of the Board, on charges of speculation. Contested the matter for fifteen months in Calcutta and then obtained leave to refer the dispute to the Court of Chancery. Sailed in November, 1789 for Europe in the *Rose* which arrived in the Downs on April 26, 1790. Succeeded in his litigation against the Company in a great measure, but, being ordered to pay his own costs as well as part of theirs, became pecuniarily involved. Was arrested by his creditors and sent to the King's Bench prison, where he died. Lived during 1787-8 (after being deprived of his post at Cossimbazar) at "Rustapugly, five miles to the southward of Calcutta," where Hickey frequently visited him. Mr. Keighley "drank very hard": and Mrs. Keighley was "one of the prettiest as well as the cleverest women in India." She died in November 1787 at the age of 32; and Keighley married a Miss Peach before a fortnight had elapsed.

(12) *Cudbert Sealy*—writer, 1796. Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta, 1825: transferred to Allahabad, 1832: retired, November 24, 1837. His mother was a daughter of Cudbert Thornhill who was nominated master attendant in 1785 and held the post until April, 1803: see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXV. p. 149). (1). Thornhill was a great Calcutta character. His connexion with the city began as early in 1756 when he was among those who took refuge at Fulda on the capture of Fort William. With Charles Sealy, was elected sidesman at St. John's Church on May 8, 1787. He had, says, William Hickey, writing of the period between 1777 and 1779 (Memoirs Vol. II, p. 156), "a magnificent mansion upon the bank of the river at Cossipore, four miles above Calcutta, where he entertained his numerous friends with the greatest degree of hospitality and good humour." Mrs. Sealy died in 1790: and Hickey records (Memoirs Vol. III, pp. 364—365) that her husband (who was the last Registrar of the Mayor's Court and subsequently Registrar of the Supreme Court) thereupon resolved to return to Europe. "All who knew Mr. Sealy were surprized at his determination, for although he had

(1) The late Mr. E. W. Madge, writing in the *Catholic Herald* of April 21, 1911, mentions that the registers of the Catholic Cathedral of the Virgin Mary of the Rosary in Murghihatta, contain an entry of the marriage on February 14, 1772, of Charles Sealy to Maria Emin or Hammond. Mrs. Sealy, he adds, is buried in the Cathedral compound. The statement that she was a daughter of Cudbert Thornhill is made on the authority of William Hickey: and the name given to the son whose Baptism is here recorded, would appear to corroborate it.

acquired an ample fortune the habits and customs of the country appeared to have become congenial to him." He died while on a journey to Salisbury, his native town, a few months after his arrival. Through his daughter, Mary Ursula who married Thomas Baring, he was the great grandfather of a Viceroy, in the person of the Earl of Northbrook, who presented his portrait to St. John's Church.

His son Charles, baptised on January 21 1776 (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 139) was appointed to an Artillery Cadetship in 1790, and was gazetted captain—lieutenant in 1804. He was acting as deputy commissary at Prince of Wales Island in 1805-6: major of brigade 1813.

(13) *Charles Hutchinson Purling*—Assistant at Dinajpore, 1771: negotiated treaty with Raja of Cooch Behar, 1772. Acting Chief at Dacca, 1773. Collector of Rungpore, 1777-79. Resident in Oudh; 1781. Gave evidence at the Hastings trial. Returned to India and again became Collector of Rungpore, 1790. Married Elizabeth Hasleby at Bauleah on June 14, 1778, and died in Calcutta, January 31, 1791, aged 44.

(14) *Marian Impey*.—God-daughter of Mrs. Hastings. Born, July 6, 1778. Went home with her parents in 1785.

(15) *Edward Hardwicke*—of Barrypore: married Mrs. Mary Porter, widow, on January 29, 1785.

(16) *Edward Golding*.—appointed assistant at Midnapore, 1766: and supervisor of Sircar Saran on May 3, 1771, where his name survives in Goldi-gunge, a village a little to the east of Chupra. During the first period of William Hickey's residence in Calcutta (November 1777 to April, 1779) we come across Golding (*Memoirs* Vol. II. p. 163) as a member of the Catch Club, a society limited to twenty-five members, from which ladies were excluded, and which was established in 1778 by seceders from the Harmonic which thereupon "sunk into a mere dance." Hickey was himself a member. On January 14, 1779, Golding writes from Fort William tendering his resignation of the service and requesting a passage on the *Mount Stuart* (758 tons, Captain John Stewart) which arrived in the Downs on January 13, 1780.

His son *Edward Golding, junior*, was appointed a writer in 1797, and arrived in the *Virginie* on May 17, 1798. He "attended" the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, to Fort Saint George, from December 25, 1798, to September 14, 1799, became head assistant in the Secret Political and Foreign Departments in 1800 and Superintendent of Stamps in July, 1803. He resigned in India in December 1803. His wife, Elizabeth, died in Calcutta on September 19, 1802, at the age of 18 years and 11 months. A certain Edward Golding who had an estate in Berkshire was one of the Lords of the Treasury in Addington's administration (1801-4) He and William Markham: see note (1): married sisters, the daughters of Oldfield Bowles (*Farington Diary*, October 25, 1810).

(17) *Major Jacob Camac*—In the 84th King's Regiment till 1763: then commanded the 24th Bengal Infantry from 1766. For many years at Ramghur in Chota Nagpore: served under Popham in 1779, when he defeated Scindia at

Durdah. Lieutenant Colonel, January, 1781: retired, December 2, 1782 and died of fever in Ireland. (Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*).

(18) *Edward James Barwell*—In a postscript to a letter of February 11, 1779, addressed to his brother Daniel, Richard Barwell says: "I have made you and Pattle Godfathers and Fanny Godmother to my youngest boy, Edward James, the initials of Elizabeth Jane the name of his mother." Daniel Barwell had sailed for Europe, in the *Osterley* at the end of 1778 and, although Richard was unaware of it at the time of writing, had been drowned on his way home off Middelburg on the coast of Holland. Thomas Pattle was a writer of 1765: see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 150: Vol. XXVI, p. 112. Fanny is Frances Barwell, the child's aunt. See *post*, p. 184.

(19) *Francis Balfour*: the younger: writer, 1794: arrived in Bengal, September 26, 1795: furlough in Europe, 1801—1804: Collector of Tipperah 1805: Collector of Government Customs at Patna, 1813: out of the service, 1824.

The father received his first commission as assistant surgeon on August 10, 1777, and was first member of the Medical Board in 1805.

(20) *William Howard*—died in Calcutta on August 18, 1795, aged 46 years. He was "Apparitor" or "Cryer of the Court" and married Betty Ayre, widow, on February 2, 1778.

(21) *Robert Joseph Chambers*—Godson of Sir Philip Francis.

(22) *Elijah Barwell Impey*—obtained a commission as cornet in the 14th Dragoons in 1808 but soon retired from the Army in order to devote himself to literature. Published in 1846 a Life of his father—"a confused and controversial book, written to controvert the hostile view of Sir Elijah Impey's character and conduct taken by Macaulay in his Essay on Warren Hastings." (*Dictionary of National Biography*.) Died in 1849. An Assistant Surgeon of the name of Elijah Impey (commissioned in 1804) was serving in 1806 with the 6th Regiment of Bengal Cavalry, "Grand Army, and was still on the active list in 1813.

(23) *Edward Rowland Jackson*—son of Dr. Rowland Jackson. (See Mrs. Fay's Original Letters.) Lieutenant, 1778. Struck off, 1793. Married on January 28, 1779, Miss Phoebe Tuting, who died in Calcutta on November 20, 1785, aged 24 years, and was buried in South Part Street Cemetery close to her father-in-law, who died on March 29, 1784, aged 63. For baptism of another son, Warren Rowland, see entry of May 7, 1781.

(24) *James Barton*—a cousin of Richard Barwell; and probably son of James Barton, Master Attendant, who died in Calcutta on July 7, 1759.

William Barton—his brother, was Resident at Burdwan in 1773 and applied in 1782 for a passage on the *Grosvenor* for himself and his family; died at Copenhagen (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 147). A notice in the *Calcutta Gazette* issued by J. C. Pengel of Serampore, and dated January 18, 1802, directs "all persons having demands on his estate to make the same known, *sub pœna præclusi et perpetui silentii*, to Messrs. Thomas Terborek and George Daniel Vonder Pohlen, Merchants, of Copenhagen."

For *Diana Bertie, Joseph Cator, North Naylor* and his wife (*Anne Bertie*) see note (37).

Augustus Cleveland is, of course, the well-known Collector of the "Junglertery." He sailed for Europe with Mrs. Hastings on the *Atlas* Indiaman in January, 1784, but died on board before the ship was clear of the river and the pilot-sloop (which always accompanied the Indiamen until they were well out to sea) was sent back by Mrs. Hastings earlier than her husband expected in order that it might bring the body for burial on land. The tomb of Cleveland is in the South Park Street cemetery close to the grave of Sir William Jones, who died ten years later (1794). An imposing monument to his memory was erected at Bhagalpur by Warren Hastings.

Lawrence Rawstorne obtained his first commission in 1778 as a cadet of infantry on the Bengal Establishment and became a Lieutenant-Colonel on June 30, 1804. He died in "the upper provinces" on October 16, 1805.

(25) *Edward Fenwick*: writer. 1764: assistant at Midnapore, 1765. Removed from the Treasury to the Secretary's office in 1767, and dismissed the service in May, 1768, for supplying a copy of an official paper to William Bala (author of the "Considerations"). Subsequently reinstated, as in May 1772 he was acting as military store-keeper at Fort William on a salary of Rs. 50 a month: but in August 1773 was suspended. Between 1775 and 1782, we find him, however, once more in official employ as second member of the Committee of Revenue and in charge of the Adawlut for the division of Calcutta on a salary of Rs. 800 a month: and, thereafter, as third member of the provincial Council of Dinajpore (Rs. 800) and later as Chief (Rs. 1,200). In July 1782 he became Commercial Resident at Moershedabad, and is mentioned as such by William Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 278). From 1785 to 1789, he was junior Member of the Board of Trade and Superintendent of Offices at the Presidency (Rs. 1,200) and military paymaster and paymaster of Company's allowances to the King's troops (promised salary Rs. 4,000): he seems also to have been Salt Agent for the Twenty-four Pergunnahs. Gave a *fête champêtre* in May 1784 at "his country house situated upon the banks of the river in Garden Reach, about five miles from Calcutta, which had then-fore been the property and place of residence of my esteemed friends Mr. and Mrs. Lacam." (Hickey, Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 211). For an account of Benjamin Lacam, see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 18—21. Fenwick fell into disgrace again in 1789, when he was dismissed from his post for misappropriation of public money: and in a letter of December 21, 1790, George Williamson, the Vendu Master or official auctioneer writes that he "has the misfortune to be in duranee vile." On April 17, 1795, he was suspended from the service by order of the Court of Directors. In May 1802, he was permitted, on the ground of extreme poverty, to draw the allowances of a senior merchant out of employ. The allowance was reduced by half on August 1, 1804: but in February 1812, in consideration of his mental derangement, the full amount was again granted.

(26) *Thomas Hincham*—should be *Henchman*. Commercial Resident at Maldah 1771 and contractor for supplying piece goods for the Europe market on account of the Company. Retired January 1781 : but returned to Bengal in April, 1784. Suspended and ordered to be prosecuted, 1785 : but appointed Military Paymaster-General in 1786. "One of the most clear-headed and shrewdest men the East India Company ever had in their employ" (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 276). Married Mrs. Maria Gee, widow, on August 22, 1771.

Lady James, the sponsor, was the wife of Sir William ("Commodore") James, Director of the East India Company from 1786 to 1780, who was created a Baronet in 1779. He captured the sea fort of Severndroog (on the west coast, 78 miles below Bombay) in March 1755 from the Mahratta pirate Tulaji Angria : and after his death in 1783 his widow (who is stated in the *East Indian Chronologist*, published in 1801, to have been an "Indian lady") built a tower at Shooters Hill to commemorate the exploit which still goes by the name of Severndroog Castle.

(27) *Lawrence Gall*—Aide-de-Camp to Warren Hastings when he married Sophia Fortnom, on August 14, 1777. (Major John Fortnom was civil architect in 1765 and "director of the works" in 1772.) Sent in his resignation on February 23, 1784. Died in Calcutta on April 27, 1806, aged 61 years. Gall's tomb in the South Park Street burial-ground bears the following inscription : "This is Lawrence Gall's tomb, consecrated by his son and daughters, as a testimony of filial affection which has superseded all other duties. It was thy fate, O Gall, to live long enough to see thyself neglected by those friends who ought to have served thee. To thee and thine fortune has been unkind." (*Ben. Obit.*, p. 90.) He seems to have ended his career as assessor to the justices of the peace for the town of Calcutta : for a man of the name of Lawrence Gall is given as the holder of that office in the Calcutta Directories of 1805 and 1806.

George Herbert Gall—whose baptism is here recorded, was appointed to a cadetship in the cavalry in August, 1795, and in 1806 was a captain in the Eighth Bengal Cavalry, and in command of the Body Guard.

(28) *Joseph Bernard Smith*—writer on the Bengal Establishment 1769 : applied on January 11, 1786, for the subsistence allowance due to civilians out of employ, and for three years' leave of absence and a passage to Europe. Commercial Resident at Radhanagore, 1804 : still in service but "out of employ," 1813—18. Died at Rungpore (where he was Commercial Resident at the time) on June 2, 1822. Served on the Jury in the Nuncomar case. Married Rose Morrow on February 7, 1780.

(29) *John Scott*—married Ann Smith on October 9, 1778.

(30) *Mrs. Brightman*—"In the middle of August (1783) I succeeded in getting a capital house in a central part of the town, and not far distant from the Court House. . . . It was the property of an old woman, a Mrs. Brightman, who let it to me at three hundred sicca rupees a month." (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 154). Edward Brightman, Senior, died in 1791 at the age of 43. Mrs. Elizabeth Brighman, who may have been the wife of the boy

Edward here baptized, died in Calcutta on March 21, 1801, at the age of 19. Edward Brightman the younger would then have been 21. He died in 1833.

(31) *Francis L' Herondell*—Attorney-at-Law. Subsequently married on February 10, 1782 to Miss Mary Le Clerc. Died, May 22, 1788, aged 37 years.

(32) *Bryan Glover*—Free merchant, died in Calcutta on March 17, 1780, some three weeks after this entry was made. He married on April 9, 1779, Elizabeth Stuart, the sister of Charles Cockerell. She did not long remain a widow and was married at Lucknow on November 20, 1781, to John Belli of the Company's service (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 152: and entry, post, of November 20, 1782).

Charles Cockerell embarked for Bengal in 1776, and became Postmaster-General. On his return to England in 1800, he sat in the House of Commons for nearly 30 years. He married in 1789, Maria Tryphena, daughter of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart., and on her death in the same year, married Harriet Rushout, daughter of the first Lord Northwick. He was created a baronet in 1809, and was succeeded by his son Charles who took the name of Rushout. The firm of Cockerell Trail Palmer & Co., was a famous one in Calcutta. Cockerell's mother was the daughter of John Jackson of Clapham, who was the nephew and heir of Samuel Pepys. She became residuary legatee of Pepys' estate as well as of that Mr. Will: Hewer of Clapham, who is so often mentioned in the Diary. Thomas Daniell painted six pictures of Sezincote, Cockerell's seat in Gloucestershire, which were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818 and 1819. Samuel Pepys Cockerell, the brother of Charles Cockerell, was appointed in 1806 to be architect to the India House, defeating Sir John Soane and other candidates. The post, says Farington on the authority of a Director, was worth from £1,800 to £2,000 a year.

(32A) *Thomas Ivory*—"Gentleman," figures in a conveyance of house property in Calcutta dated May 1, 1784, with twenty-three others as a member of "a co-partnership of joint under writers" for "the Assurance of Ships and Merchandizes at Sea," formed on March 21, 1783, under the name of "the Bengal Insurance Company." (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV. p. 22).

(33) *Harriet Chicheley Plowden*: so-called after the first wife of Edward Wheler; see note (1). Mrs. Wheler astounded all the ladies, writes Francis, by the size of her hoop at the ball given in her honour on her arrival in Calcutta in November, 1777.

(34) *Thomas Evans*—Married Augusta Webb on November 20, 1778, and therefore great-uncle by marriage of W. M. Thackeray. Writer on the Bengal Establishment, April 7, 1773: having previously served in Madras under Warren Hastings. Deputy-Postmaster-General, March 18, 1774, and paymaster to the Artillery Brigade at Fort William, January 1, 1779. From 1781 to 1787 was paymaster to the garrison and artillery, Buxey to the Board of Trade, and Deputy Comptroller of the Salt Department. On February 26, 1787, he resigned and was accommodated with a passage to Europe on the *Earl of Oxford* (758 tons, Capt. John White, junior) which arrived in the Downs on September 18, 1787. Eighteen years later, he is permitted by the Court of

Directors to return to his rank on the Bengal Civil Establishment, and arrives in Calcutta on September 23, 1805: but remains out of employment until March 19, 1807, when he obtains the post of Collector of Government Customs at Hooghly. On September 16, 1808, he is appointed to officiate as Postmaster General.

(35) *Marian Larkins*. God-daughter of Mrs. Hastings.

(36) *William Byam Martin*. Married on April 8, 1776, to Charlotte Yorke. His son of the same name (writer, 1798) was junior assistant to the Resident at Fort Marlboro', 1805, Resident at Amboyna, 1810—1817 and Resident at Hyderabad, 1825—1830.

(37) *Thomas North Naylor*. The Company's Attorney: married Anne Bertie on September 17, 1778. Succeeded George Bogle as Commissioner of Law Suits in 1779. Incurred the displeasure of the Supreme Court in 1780 by advising Hastings and the Council to resist the proceedings taken against the Rajah of Kasijora, as not being within the jurisdiction of the Court. He was committed for contempt and detained in jail from March 1 to 16, 1780. He died on August 16 following: and his wife on March 6, during his imprisonment.

Anne Bertie and her sister Diana came out to India in April, 1777, with William Hickey (Memoirs, Volume II, p. 101) in "search of husbands," on board the *Sea-horse* Indiaman, of which their brother-in-law, Captain David Arthur, was in command. Diana married on October 31, 1780, Joseph Cator, a factor in the Company's service, who was a protégé of Richard Barwell. As regards the Duke of Ancaster who was the head of the Bertie family: see Farington Diary, February 13, 1809 ("Morning Post," April 6, 1923).

"On Wednesday last, the 8th instant, died at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, the Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, Marquess and Earl of Lindsey. The Dukedom, is extinct, and also the Marquisate: but the Earldom devolves on General Albemarle Bertie."

(38) *George Mainwaring Kenderdine*. It is after this person or his descendants that Kenderdine's Lane in Calcutta is named. G. M. Kenderdine was entered as Surgeon on December 30, 1763, dismissed in 1769, and restored as "youngest surgeon never to rise." He had served for three years with the Army in Germany.

(39) *John Bristow*—see *Bengal Past and Present*, volume XXV. p. 150.

These were children born before his marriage at Chinsurah on May 27, 1782, to the beautiful Emma Wrangham, "Turban Conquest" of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*. William Hickey (Memoirs, Volume III, p. 377) gives the following account of her:—

This season (1790) deprived Calcutta of one of its principal ornaments by the departure of Mrs. Bristow for England. She was a native of the little island of St. Helena, her maiden name Wrangham: a fine dashing girl, not by any means a regular beauty, but an uncommonly elegant figure and person: remarkably clever and accomplished. Upon her first arrival in India she had a number of suitors from whom she selected Mr. John Bristow, a respectable character, high in the Company's

service, but plain in features and dress. He was generally considered as possessing immense wealth, an opinion strengthened by his settling the extraordinarily large sum of £40,000 upon Miss Wrangham when he married her. At the time she left India she had by him four lovely children, the proper education of which was her chief motive for quitting her husband and embarking for Europe. She often declared that but for that object she should prefer residing in Bengal to any other part of the world.

Hickey says further that "her natural flow of spirits frequently led her into extravagances and follies of rather too masculine a nature." She rode astride, was an excellent shot, "rarely missing her bird," and would "without hesitation knock a man down if he presumed to offer her the slightest insult." Her younger sister married in 1787, Alexander Macleod of the Madras Civil Service (writer 1777: factor 1780: senior merchant 1790: Resident at Negapatam 1800: returned to England 1801: "out of the service" 1803). Macleod was the son of the Commander of an Indiaman "in which line he acquired a noble fortune" (Hickey, Vol. III, pp. 243, 244).

Captain Nutt—who acted as sponsor, is, no doubt, Captain Justinian Nutt of the Company's Marine Service. He was sworn in as Commander on May 26, 1779, and was Captain of the *Duke of Kingston* (723 tons) from November 7, 1779, to August 21, 1783, when she was burnt off Ceylon with the loss of seventy-nine lives. He then commanded the *Thetis* (804 tons) from January 6, 1787, to June 16, 1793. His career at sea which extended over a period of twenty-two years, began as third officer of the *Talbot* (499 tons, Capt. Sir Charles Hudson, Bart) on her third voyage to "the Coast" and China (February 15, 1771, to September 1, 1772): At the time of this entry (August 4, 1780) he was in Calcutta. The *Duke of Kingston* sailed from Portsmouth for "the Coast and Bay" on November 17, 1779, and arrived back in the Downs on October 20, 1781. Sir Eyre Coote embarked on board at Calcutta in October 1780, for conveyance to Madras, which was reached on November 5. The battle of Porto Novo and the relief of Wandiwash followed.

Mr. Stark, who acted as proxy, may have been Henry Stark, attorney of the Supreme Court, who served as deputy-sheriff to the following sheriffs: William Walsworth (1777) Sir John D'Oyly (1779), Alexander Van Rixtel (1780). But there was also a James Stark, Surgeon: see note (58).

Mr. Shore—another sponsor, is Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

(40) *Charles Russell Deare*. Killed by a cannon shot on September 13, 1790, aged 40 "while commanding the Bengal Artillery in the action fought between a detachment of British forces and that of Tippo Sultan near Sattimungulum." His wife Catherine Stark, to whom he was married on June 5, 1779, died at Calcutta on September 6, 1790, aged 34. She can hardly have been more than 14 at the time of her marriage. Deare's brother, who erected a monument to him in the South Park-Street cemetery was Colonel George Deare of the Company's Service. He retired as a Major General on

April 30, 1804. Lord Valentia (Travels, Vol. I. p. 95) mentions that he was in command at Benares when he visited that place in March 1803. He stayed with him at his house at Secrole "the English Benares."

(41) *Nathaniel Middleton*—Resident at Lucknow at the time of the first Rohilla War (1774): succeeded by John Bristow. Reinstated by Hastings in September, 1776 after the death of Monson: but removed again by Hastings in 1780 and replaced by Bristow. Nick-named "Memory" Middleton, because when giving evidence before Parliament at the trial of Warren Hastings, "he exhibited a total want of recollection of all facts and circumstances which he conceived could tend to the prejudice of his patron." Married at St. John's Church on October 26, 1780, being then a junior merchant, Anna Frances, one of the sisters of Robert Morse, Advocate of the Supreme Court, and Sheriff of Calcutta in 1783–84, when William Hickey acted as deputy-sheriff (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 191). See baptism of a daughter Sophia on December 15, 1783. Another sister Sarah became the wife of William Cator, Factor, on November 4, 1780. Morse died in 1816. His portrait by Zoffany is in the possession of Mr. H. B. Middleton of Bradford Peverell, Dorchester. According to Dr. G. C. Williamson, Morse is represented playing on the cello, and his sister Ann (Mrs. Middleton) on the harpsichord. Sophia (Mrs. Cator) is turning the music and Cator stands close by.

• (42) *John Petrie*—Collector of Government Customs, 1777. Acting Naval Storekeeper, 1780. Married Ann Keble on November 11, 1779. See note (49).

(43) *William Haverham*—Married Ann Catherine Hadermack of Serampore on October 10, 1779.

(44) *Shearman Bird*—Appointed writer on the Bengal Establishment in 1766. Chief at Chittagong, October, 1786. Appointed Judge and Magistrate of Purneah, May, 1793: transferred on June 13, 1794, to be first Judge of the Provincial Court of Dacca and continued to hold that office until the present century. Was still in the service in 1813. Figures in Hickey's Memoirs (Vol. III pp. 213, 331) as a boon companion of that gentleman. His son of the same name as himself (writer 1801) was for many years Magistrate and Judge of Dacca and died there in 1824. His grandson, also named Shearman Bird, was for many years Superintendent in the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

Mrs. Coales, one of the god-mothers, was wife of Philip Coales, writer 1793: commercial resident at Patna, 1804.

Robert Bathurst, godfather, was also in the civil service: writer, 1772, collector of customs at Furruckabad, 1804:

"Mr. Shakespear"—see note (53).

Caroline Bird, whose baptism is recorded, was married at Naraingunge on May 29, 1840, to Christopher Roberts (writer 1783) who was at the time fourth judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at Dacca.

(45) *James Hennes*—married Mrs. Mary Robertson on September 8, 1781. She was the widow of Archibald Robertson: and died in Calcutta on June 11, 1786, aged 32 years. Robertson's infant son (baptised May 7, 1773) died on June 21 1773.

(46) *William Nathan Wright Hewell*. Register at Midnapore, 1785 : Salt Agent at Hidgelee, 1787—1793. Married Martha Tuting on September 16, 1785. See note (22) for her sister Phoebe.

(46A) *James Irwin*—married Selina Brooke on April 22, 1772. See note (63) for an account of William Augustus Brooke, his father in law.

(47) *Edward Colin (or Collins) Chambers*—Died, November 9, 1781, aged 6 months.

(48) *Francis Fowke*—Son of James Fowke who joined with Nuncomar in bringing a charge of accepting bribes against Hastings. As Secretary to the Council attended the famous meeting in June, 1777, when Clavering took the oath as Governor-General in supersession of Hastings. Appointed Resident at Benares, removed by Hastings and Barwell after Monson's death, restored by order of the Directors, again removed by Hastings in 1781, and once more restored under orders from London.

(49) *John Petrie*—see note (42).

William Petrie—the sponsor, was nominated to a writership on the Madras Establishment in 1765 and was member of the Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George from 1790 to 1793 and again from 1800 to 1809. Lord Valentia dined with him when he visited Madras in February, 1804, to meet the Governor (Lord William Bentinck) the Commander-in-Chief (Lieutenant General J. Stuart) and Mr. Deschamps Chamier the other Member of Council. (Travels, Vol. I. p. 385). In 1809 he was appointed Governor of Prince of Wales Island and died at Fort Cornwallis on October 27, 1816.

(50) *Patrick Heatly*.—Brother of Suetonius Grant Heatly (born 1751), (born 1751), Magistrate at Dacca who died unmarried in Bengal in 1793. The father was Andrew Heatly of Newport R. I. Patrick was subsequently "of the Company's Secret Council." Born in America, 1753, died in London, 1834. Married Anne Carey, but had no legitimate children. His portrait was painted by Zoffany : seated in a landscape on a rock and shading his eyes with a beaver hat. He is supposed to be looking out to sea and watching the ship which is taking his sister Temperance and her husband Captain William Green from India to America. Zoffany also painted a portrait group of Suetonius Grant Heatly with his sister Temperance. Both are seated in an apartment with an Indian pipe-bearer standing behind and another servant in a bent attitude before them, holding a long and elaborate staff in his hand. Suetonius Heatly is holding the mouth-piece of a hookah. Both pictures are in the possession of Capt. C. D. M. Blunt of Adderbury Manor, Banbury : the former was sold at Christie's on June 16, 1906 for £273 by Mr. G. H. Tod Heatly. A sister of Suetonius and Patrick, Mary Heatly, married Captain James Tod, and was the mother of Colonel James Tod, author of the *Annals of Rajasthan*. The Blunts are her great grand-children.

(50A) *Robert Robertson*—married Ann Casey on March 21, 1774.

(51) *John Stormont* :—identified by Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S. (*Bengal Past and Present* Vol. V. p. 149) with James Stormont who was assistant-surgeon at the Calcutta Hospital 1760—1766. Resigned on account of ill-

health 1766: returned and re-appointed 1768. A long correspondence dated August 30, 1770, is preserved in the Calcutta Record Office in which "John Stormonth" claims without success to be ranked from the date of his original appointment in 1760. Became Superintending Surgeon in 1787, resigned 1789, struck-off the list 1793. A James "Stormonth" died in Calcutta on December 19, 1788 aged 4 years.

(52) *William John Sands*.—Writer, 1797: Second Judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at Benares, 1822. Retired on annuity, January 2, 1827.

(53) *John Shakespear*.—Father of John Tallbot Shakespear, (writer, 1800) who married Emily Thackeray in Calcutta in 1803: and grand-father of Colonel Sir Richmond Campbell Shakespear (1812—1861). Emily Shakespear died of cholera in Calcutta on September 29, 1824, aged 40: and J. T. Shakespear died at the Cape of Good Hope on board the Hon'ble Company's ship *Rose* on April 12, 1825.

Major (Thomas Theophilus) Metcalfe, the godfather (Director of the Company from 1789 to 1812) was father of Lord Metcalfe, who was baptised in St. John's Church on April 18, 1785.

(54) *Charlotte Wheler*.—Died unmarried in 1861. Edward Wheler died in Calcutta on October 10, 1784, aged 51. He was, as the inscription on his tomb in the South Park Street burial-ground informs us, the third son of Sir Edward Wheler, Bart. of Leamington Hastings in the county of Warwick. Hence the "Lady Wheler" among the sponsors of the child. Wheler's first wife was Harriet Chicheley Plowden, who died in 1778 seven months after her arrival in Calcutta. He then married on December 23, 1780, Charlotte Durnford by whom he had two daughters, Charlotte and Penelope.

George Livius.—The god-father, was sent by Francis with carriages to meet Wheler at Budge-Budge on his arrival in November, 1777, to take charge of the office of Member of the Supreme Council in succession to Monson: and Hastings, who was equally anxious to secure him as an ally, sent Alexander Elliot on a similar errand. But, notes Francis in his Diary, "in spite of all Mr. Elliot's courtship and artifices, Wheler passes by Budge-Budge and lands at Calcutta, immediately visits me and takes his seat at the Board." Livius was appointed Military Store-keeper in 1775 on the recommendation of Francis. In September, 1779, Hastings writes: "Mr. Livius is professedly patronized by Mr. Francis who passes his bills, and nine or ten lacks of rupees paid to him are yet unaccounted for." Cf the following passage in "The Great Proconsul" by Sydney C. Grier (pp. 266, 267): "Of late (May, 1781) Messrs. Livius, Shee and Ducarell, with other adherents of Mr. Francis, have made a vigorous effort against Mr. Hastings, drawing into their number Colonel Watson and others, and holding regular meetings after the manner of those 'associations' now fashionable at home, chiefly at the house of Mr. Fay, the spouse of the unfortunate lady who was once Hyder's captive." In a letter dated July 26, 1784, Colonel Henry Watson recommends as the most suitable place for a "Military Buryal Ground,

a place near the corner of the Esplanade continous to the Bridge leading to Mr. Livious' Gardens." • These " Gardens " are the present Magistrate's house and grounds at Alipore, and were also known as the " Lodge." Livius lived there with Francis and in April, 1780, purchased the house from him for Rs. 30,000. In later years it was the home of the novelist Thackeray whose father Richmond Thackeray was appointed Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs on December 24, 1811.

Mrs. Watson—who acted as sponsor for Lady Wheler, is, no doubt, the wife of Colonel Watson who resigned the office of Chief Engineer in February, 1785 (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III. p. 269) and sailing some months later in the *Deptford* Indiaman, died at Dover on September 17, 1786, on being landed from the ship. He left his property which, according to Hickey, amounted to upwards of £300,000, to his natural daughter Susan, who married Lord Carbery. The widow, having nothing to look to " except the dock lands in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, " returned to India in the same year (1786) and says Hickey, " became acquainted with Lieutenant Newell, of the Company's military service, who shortly afterwards quitted the army to engage in making indigo, by which he amassed a prodigious fortune, married her, and they are enjoying themselves amidst the highest degree of splendour in England." The Garrison and up-country registers preserved at St. John's Church record the marriage on January 6, 1793, at Dinapore, of Alexander Newell and Maria Theresa Watson, widow, relict of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Watson.

(55) *Henry Swinhoe*—Admitted as an Attorney of the Supreme Court in 1779. Died October 27, 1808, aged 56. Married Jane Maul on March 7, 1780. She died on February 22, 1833, aged 77. An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 14, 1799, announced " wild beasts for sale at Mr. W. Smith's, No. 230, Lak Bazar, opposite Mr. H. Swinhoe's, the Attorney " and the public were notified that " Any person viewing them for curiosity's sake only will not be offended if half a rupee should be expected by the black keeper."

Hannah Swinhoe, the subject of this entry, was married on March 15, 1804, to Lieutenant Gilbert Nicholetts, of the 2nd Bengal N. I. A son was born at Allyghur on May 27, 1805. Another daughter, Letitia, was married on October 7, 1805, to Lieutenant William Nott, of the 20th Bengal N. I., afterwards Major-General Sir William Nott (d. 1845). There is a portrait of Nott in the Calcutta Town Hall and a statue at Caermarthen, his native town. The Swinhoe family is still represented in Calcutta.

(56) *Apollonia Charlotte Larkins*—A god-daughter of Mrs. Hastings, who was married at St. John's Church on August 8, 1777, under her maiden name of " Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusettirt."

(57) *The Hon'ble Colonel Ole Bie*.—Danish Governor of Serampore (Fredriknagore): born at Trondhjem in Norway in 1733 and was the son of a merchant and Stads Kapteyn. He married Wendel Elisabeth Panck, daughter of Paul Panck, Governor of the Danish East Indies, and came to Frederiknagore in 1762. He was a disciple of Swartz at Tranquebar and befriended Marshman

and Ward when they arrived at Serampore, refusing to dismiss them at the request of the English East India Company's representatives at Calcutta. Contributed largely to the building of the church of St. Olaf, which was completed in 1805. Died at Government House, Serampore, on May 18, 1805, at the age of 72. His successor, Colonel Jacob Krefting, died also at Serampore on October 7, 1828, after forty four years' residence in India. Heber records in his Narrative (Vol. I. pp. 50-51) an interchange of visits with Krefting in 1823.

(58) *James Stark*—Assistant Surgeon 1773: Surgeon 1778. Resigned 1789 but remained in India. The Stark family is still represented in Calcutta.

(59) *William Palmer*—(Senior) Entered the Bengal Army from the King's Service, 1766: was Military Secretary to Warren Hastings until 1782 when he became Resident at Lucknow: at Scindia's Court, 1794-98 and at Poona, 1798-1801: afterwards in command at Monghyr. Lieutenant-General: died at Berhampore, May 20, 1814. Married a Begum of the Oudh Family, and was painted with her by Zoffany. Of his sons John (born 1767, died 1836) was the "Prince of Merchants": his bust is in the Town Hall. William (1782-1867) the subject of this entry, founded in 1814 the great banking house of Palmer & Co., at Hyderabad in which the Rumbolds were partners: his heavy financial transactions with the Nizam ended in his ruin and in the censure of the Governor-General (the Marquess of Hastings.)

(60) *Hastings Impey*—Writer on the Bengal Establishment, 1799: Registrar to the Adawlut at Allahabad, 1804: died in Calcutta, February 4, 1805, aged 24. His brother Edward (born in 1785) was appointed a writer in 1800 and served in Beerbhoom and Hooghly. In 1818, he was judge of the provincial court of appeal at Moorsheerabad: and was suspended from office in 1819. He went to Europe and was dismissed from the service in 1822.

(61) *William Henry Sealy*—Writer, 1798: arrived in Bengal, November 6, 1798. Died in Calcutta on August 25, 1800. See note (12). Two of his brothers were also in the Bengal Civil Service: Cudbert (1796 to 1837) and John Nathaniel (1797 to 1815). Another member of the family, Cudbert Thornhill Sealy (writer 1836) died at Berhampore on August 5, 1847.

(62) *Thomas Whingates*: Ensign in the infantry, August 22, 1780. Major November 2, 1803: attached to 25th B. N. I., January 27, 1804. The surname is misspelled "Whingates" in a subsequent entry on November 9, 1783.

(63) *Henry Chicheley Plowden*—(the father) writer 1773: Postmaster-General, 1779: Collector of Customs at Moorsheerabad, 1802: acting commercial Resident at Etawah and Calpee, 1812: married on July 14, 1781, Eugenia Brooke, a daughter of William Augustus Brooke. According to S. C. Grier, Brooke owed to Edward Wheeler his first appointment in the Company's service (1769), and a profitable post at Patna which he held for many years. Hastings stopped at his house at Bankipore in March, 1784 and Heber was his guest in 1828 at Secrole near Benares. In 1794, he was judge of the Court of Appeal at the Presidency and appears to have lived at Belvedere. Lord

Valentia (Travels Vol. I. p. 70) stayed in February 1803 on his way up-country at his house at Hooghly, "very pleasantly situated on a bend of the river, whence is commanded a very beautiful prospect." When he died at Benares on July, 10, 1833, at the age of 81, he had been judge of the Court of Appeal there and Agent to the Governor General since 1804, and had served the Company for 56 years.† Plowden resigned the service in 1807.

(64) *George Templer*.—Contractor for Elephants, 1779. Writer 1805. Sheriff of Calcutta, 1816. Appointed Commercial Resident at Jungypore on April 17, 1818. Died at Calcutta on July 20, 1819. Married Joan Paul at Dacca on March 5, 1781.

(65) *Edward Brampton*: was Deputy Sheriff to the following Sheriffs of Calcutta: John Hare (1782) and Jeremiah Church (1783). Died June 18, 1790.

(66) *Anthony Polier*.—A Swiss by birth, who went out to India in 1757 at the age of 16 and entered the Company's service. Became assistant engineer at Calcutta and Chief Engineer in 1762. Promotion being refused on account of his nationality, he resigned in 1776 and entered the service of Shuja-ud-dowlah and Asaf-ud-Dowlah, Nawabs of Oudh. Figures prominently in Zoffany's famous picture of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match." Later held a military command at Delhi. Appointed a Lieutenant Colonel in the Company's service by Hastings with leave to reside at Lucknow where Hodges, the artist, stayed with him on his return from an expedition to Gwalior, in May, 1783. Returned to Europe in 1788: and through his lavish display of wealth was attacked by robbers and murdered in 1795. Was the first European to succeed in obtaining a complete collection of the Vedas. (Buckland).

(67) *John Belli*.—married the widow of Bryan Glover and sister of Charles Cockerell at Lucknow on November 20, 1781: see note (31).

(68) *James Fraser*.—A writer of this name arrived in Bengal in 1796 and was appointed assistant to the Export Ware-house Keeper. He was out of employ in 1800 and resigned the service in India in the following year. The father may be the James Fraser who died in Calcutta in 1832 at the age of 83.

(69) *Richard Chicheley Plowden*.—Son of Richard Chicheley Plowden: appointed to a writership on November 1, 1798. Arrived in India on September 19, 1799: became Salt Agent at Hidgellee and died at the Cape of Good Hope on September 21, 1825. See note (1).

(70) *Belvedere Tolly*.—No doubt named after "Belvedere" which her father had purchased from Warren Hastings in February 1780, and which was advertised for sale by his representatives in October, 1784, and again in February, 1802. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 145.

(71) *Allen Macpherson*: married in 1781 at Berhampore (being then a Major) Eliza Dell Fraser, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Fairfield, Inverness, and grand-daughter of the eighth Lord Lovat. Their grand-son was W. C. Macpherson, C.S.I. (Bengal C.S. 1877—1911). Mrs. Macpherson's sister married Captain Hiram Cox after whom Cox's Bazar is named.

The Farington Diary.

MORE GLIMPSES INTO FORGOTTEN INDIA.

THE second volume of the Diary of Joseph Farington, R.A., has been published, containing the entries from August 1802 to September 1804, but the serial daily publication of extracts in the *Morning Post* which continued until October 20, carries the chronicle to the end of the year 1811. The references to matters of Anglo-Indian interest have not, as a rule, been numerous; and notice has been taken of the majority of these in *Bengal Past and Present* from time to time. Here are however two entries relating to Lord Wellesley which have not yet found a place in these pages.

April 8, 1811: (Sir Thomas) Lawrence spoke of Lord Wellesley. With all His abilities He has so great a share of vanity that at the age of abt. 53 Lawrence has noticed that when His Lordship sat to him for His Portrait that His *Lips* were painted.

June 15, 1811. She (the Marchioness of Thomond, neice of Sir Joshua Reynolds) spoke of the Marquess Wellesley who by His excessive extravagance has expended His Fortunes. Yet under these circumstances He had a George made for Him as Knight of the Garter which is wholly composed of diamonds, and the price of it £2,000. It is now at Picket and Rundalls the Jewellers, who however will not deliver it till the money is paid. Though He is an Ugly little man, his personal vanity is excessive. . . . He is sedulously courting the Prince Regent's favour by every means in his power.

Lawrence was constantly communicating to Farington items of gossip which he picked up from his distinguished sitters. The following, for instance, reveals an incident which has hitherto escaped general notice:

July 27, 1811. Lord Castlereagh sat to Lawrence this (morning). He told Lawrence that after the measure of the Union [with Ireland] had been effected, an offer was made to Him by the Ministry (Mr. Pitt, etc.) of the Governor-Generalship of Bengal, which He declined.

There is no mention of this offer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and one wonders when it was actually made. Wellesley, who was Lord Mornington at the time of his appointment, was Governor-General from 1798 to 1805. Castlereagh, on the other hand, accepted office under Pitt as President of the Board of Control in 1802, two years after the passing of the Act of Union, and supported Wellesley against the Court of Directors.

On September 7, 1811, Farington went to stay with his old friend Lestock Wilson, a retired "Company's Captain" at Coopersale Grove, Epping, his house in the country. We have already come across Wilson.

in our former article on the Farington Diary (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 28, 29) and have there learned that he made his first voyage in 1771 as fourth officer of the *Calcutta* (499 tons) and was sworn in as Commander of the *Carnatic* (758 tons) on February 21, 1786. In 1789 he was wrecked off the coast of Banca in the *Vansittart* (828 tons) and after commanding the *Exeter* (1,200 tons) had retired from the Service in 1799 (1).

The Captain of an Indiaman was a personage of high dignity. He ranked with a post captain in His Majesty's Navy and when his ship arrived at one of the Company's ports was received with a salute of thirteen guns, the guard of the fort turning out and presenting arms. His was also a position of considerable opportunities for emolument. When the Company lost its monopoly in 1833, Captain John Innes of the *Abercrombie Robinson*, in a memorial for compensation for loss of appointment, estimated his income as Commander, upon an average of his last three voyages, exclusive of profits or investments, at £6,100 per voyage (2). Instances were known of a commander making no less than £30,000 out of the "double voyage," that is to say, from London to India and thence to China and home: and it was quite usual for a voyage to yield £8,000 to £10,000.

Lestock Wilson made use of such fortune as he had acquired by setting up in business as an East India agent in the city at 2 Frederick's place, Old Jewry, and we find him in 1811 as "ship's husband" of the *Cambridge*, an Indiaman of 758 tons, which sailed on May 12 from Torbay on her first voyage to Madeira, Madras and Bengal under the command of Captain Charles Mortlock, and returned on July 26, 1812. On her next voyage, which was to St. Helena and China and which lasted from March 30, 1816, to June 8, 1817, she was chartered to the Company by Wilson's partner, George Palmer.

It would seem from Farington's jottings that Wilson was full of conversation. He waxed eloquent on "the present very distressed state of commerce."

West India produce is a drug, scarcely producing more than pays for the freight.—Cotton was never known to be at so low a price: Coffee has fallen more than two-thirds in price. East India produce is, as it may be said, locked up, there being no market for it.—His House do not expect to make a shilling profit this year (1811).

(1) Wilson's daughter Alicia Magdalena, married Francis Beaufort (1774-1857) rear admiral and hydrographer whose sister Mrs. Edgeworth was the mother of Maria Edgeworth the novelist by her fourth husband. Their son, Lestock P. Beaufort, was a Judge of the Supreme Court at the Cape of Good Hope, and presented a number of valuable prints and sketches by Thomas Daniell and Samuel Davis to the Victoria Memorial Hall and the Indian Museum. One of the sketches has been reproduced in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV, p. 12).

(2) His figures were as follows: 18 months' pay at £10 per month, £180: 56 tons "privilege" allowed at £4 per ton, £224: from port to port at Rs. 30 per candy, £336: homeward at £33 per ton, £1,484: two-fifths tonnage from port to port, 478 tons at Rs. 30 per candy, less charged by the Hon'ble Company £2 per ton, £1,012: "privilege", £100: passage money after allowing for the provisions and stores provided for the passengers, £1,500.

Five years earlier Wilson had been equally apprehensive of the future. On April 23, 1806, Farington dined with him, and records the following:

Wilson seemed to be much dispirited at the appearance of difficulties arising from the measures of Prussia which has caused our Administration to block up the rivers which lead to Hamburgh and the Prussian dominions.—He said the situation of the *East India Agents* is very critical because the articles consigned to them from India may not sell at the public sales, in which case should they accept bills drawn upon them by their correspondents in India for the supposed value of the articles, they might commit themselves to a degree of responsibility beyond their means of answering. He said there is now in Indigo to the amount of a *million* in value: but should the exportation be prohibited, it would lay as a drag.

There had certainly been one big bankruptcy in December, 1810. William Devaynes, head of the banking house of Devaynes Noble and Dawe, in Pall Mall, and M.P. for Barnstaple in 1802, had been a great personage in Leadenhall street, for years. He was a Director of the Company from 1770 to 1805, and had served the office of Deputy Chairman four times (1777, 1779, 1784, 1790) and of Chairman six times (1780, 1785, 1789, 1793, 1794). The *Devaynes*, an Indiaman of 600 tons, was named after him, and was a well-known vessel, making six voyages to "the Coast and Bay" between the years 1802 and 1814. After his death, the great house came to grief, and Lestock Wilson, who was one of the trustees in bankruptcy, told Farington on December 23, 1810 that they would not pay twenty shillings in the pound, so that there would not be a penny left for any of the partners.

Disaster, however, had not yet overtaken Wilson, and in spite of his forebodings he was able to live in a condition of considerable comfort. He had a town house in Harley street which cost him £4,000, and the furniture about £5,000, "of which £2,000 was in Glass, viz. large plates, chandelier, etc." For his place at Epping he had paid about £6,000. All these scraps of information are scrupulously transferred to his diary by Farington.

On September 9, Wilson mentioned to his guest the death of his old shipmate, Captain John Blanchard (or Blanshard, as it is given in Hardy's Register) of the York East Indiaman who had died about five years before "at His house in New Ormond Street, London," leaving an income of £600 or £700 a year to his widow.

Captain John Atkinson Blanshard entered the Company's service on February 22, 1770, as third officer of the *Royal Captain* (499 tons, Capt. Edward Barrow) and sailed in her to Bencoolen and China, returning on July 8, 1771. He then shipped on board the same vessel as second officer on January, 30, 1773, for a voyage to St. Helena and China but they were wrecked off Pelawar (query: the island of Palawan) on December 17, 1773. He obtained command on April 30, 1777 of the *York* (578 tons) and took her to Bombay, with Lestock Wilson as third officer, returning on December 20, 1778. On his next voyage, which was to the coast and China and lasted from

February 12, 1780, to October 20, 1781, Wilson was his first officer. He took the *York* again to the coast and China from March 11, 1783, to July 12, 1784, with Wilson as first officer, and his name then disappears from Hardy's "Register of East India Shipping." On his second voyage in command of the *York* Blanshard (said Wilson) took out with him his brother the Reverend Thomas Blanshard who had been appointed Chaplain at Calcutta by the Court of Directors. A Miss Boileau was among the passengers, and the chief officer falling in love with her, "at Madras Mr. Blanchard married Wilson to Miss Boileau." Samuel Davis of Benares hog spear fame, whom we shall encounter again presently, and William Hodges the Academician, were either on board the *York* or on the *London* (758 tons, Capt. Daniel West) which left Portsmouth in her company on February 12, 1780: and on September 24, 1794, the marriage took place of "Saml. Davis, Sr. Mercht. Hon. English India Co.'s Service, to Henrietta Boileau of Burdwan, Spinster," who was presumably a sister of Lestock Wilson's wife.

Wilson goes on to tell the story of the Reverend Thomas Blanshard, who officiated with William Johnson at the Consecration Service held at St. John's Church on June 24, 1787, and succeeded him as Senior Chaplain when he left for Europe in January, 1788. The Chaplains' salaries had some years earlier been increased from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200 a month. We have already learned this and other details from Farington (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 33) and the entry is worth quoting:

"June 21, 1806.—Baily, Curate of St. George's [in the East where Farington's brother was Rector] called. Has had an offer of Chaplaincy to Bengal.—Salary £1,200 a yr.—and after 15 years if He comes home to have Pension of £250 a yr.—also £100 for outfit.—Went with Him to (Thomas) Daniell who told Him a *single man* might accept it and live upon it, but a married man could not. The House, Palanquin, etc., which a wife wd. require to make a suitable appearance could not be had for £100 a month.

Chaplains however had other opportunities for making money. Permission was given to them to remit up to £1,000 a year through the Company's bills: and these remittances could also be made in goods by the Company's ships, such shipments being termed in the accounts "private trade." Again every season a syndicate would send out from Calcutta a shipload of goods as a trading adventure to China and the Straits. Blanshard, says Wilson, "remained more than 20 years at Calcutta, in which time he accumulated a fortune of £30,000."

There is singularly little about him in Archdeacon Hyde's "Parochial Annals of Bengal," but William Hickey in his "Memoirs" throws some light upon the methods by which he grew rich. The story opens fairly well. When "Mrs." Hickey died on December 25, 1783, Blanshard performed the funeral service and upon receiving the fee wrote to the disconsolate husband: "I can only say that you have been too kind in your acknowledgment for what was only my duty and under that idea I wished to have returned what I found

enclosed, but concluded that I was not sufficiently acquainted with you to be convinced, or even to suppose that such a measure would be so agreeable to you as my acceptance of it." He adds that he has just returned "from a five weeks' trip with my young ladies towards Patna."

In June 1790 Hickey was not in very good health. Calling one day at Stuart's, the coachmaker's, he there met one Thomas Maudsley who besides being a coachmaker was also an undertaker. He inquired of him whether it was possible to secure a particular spot for himself in the burying ground as the graves were multiplying so rapidly that the part in which "Mrs." Hickey had been buried was nearly surrounded. The answer was in the affirmative. A fortnight later he was presented with a bill for a hundred sicca rupees for a vault and received at the same time an intimation that "if he should have the misfortune to use it," a further sum of sicca rupees one hundred would be payable to the clergyman of the Presidency for permission fees. This permission fee, says Hickey, had just then been for the first time demanded, and he took no notice of the letter. A month later he was again dunned. The demand now was for a fee of Rs. 50 for permission to make the vault, the remaining fifty rupees being leviable in the event of the vault being used as a foundation for a monument. Hickey describes the demand as "blackguard and disgraceful" but sent the fifty rupees. He proceeds to relate various other incidents of a discreditable nature and asserts that a sort of partnership existed between Blanchard and Palmer, the predecessor of Maudsley in the undertaking business, under which Blanchard was allowed twenty per cent. of the gross amount of all bills for funerals. A strange letter from Blanchard to Palmer is quoted in the course of which the following occurs: "You're grossly mistaken in supposing that our profitable season is the hot weather or the rains; that is by no means the fact, November and the early part of December for me; that is the period of our harvest."

The pair of worthies quarrelled and went to law: and the result of the equity suit which followed was that Blanchard was obliged to pay full costs and abandon the whole of certain claims which he preferred against Palmer amounting to five thousand sicca rupees.

Hickey continues: "With such an account as the foregoing of the Reverend Mr. Blanchard it would not surprize any one to hear that he accumulated a large fortune with which, accompanied by a sister who was as deserving a woman as any in the world, he, in about eighteen months after the undertaker's attack, embarked for Europe."

Blanshard never reached England and met with a tragic fate, as the result of his parsimony, which was thus related to Farington:

To make His expence of returning to England as little as He could He took His passage in a Dutch ship which was in bad condition. When the ship arrived at St. Helena where there was then a fleet returning to England, it was represented to Him that it would be imprudent in him to venture further in Her, and several Captains offered Him a passage for Himself and several under His care. This He declined, it

was believed from an apprehension that though nothing would be charged for the passage, yet it would be proper for him to present some compliment. Accordingly He with His party proceeded in the Dutch Ship, but when the fleet arrived off the Western Islands, Her condition was so bad that the necessity of quitting became apparent. He was therefore with His party taken on board another ship new and well built.—At the time of his making this change, the weather was becoming bad. His servant accompanied Him, but when board the new ship He recollected having left His Master's watch on board the Dutch Ship to which he returned to obtain it. By this time, the weather was such that He was obliged to remain in the Dutch Ship. The Gale increased—the Ships were dispersed—and the new ship into which Mr. Blanchard had gone foundered, having never after been seen or heard of. It was remarkable that the Dutch Ship kept afloat during this storm and was afterwards taken possession of by a French Ship which saved the lives of the people on Board, including Mr. Blanchard's servant, after which it being impossible to carry the Dutch Ship into any Port, she was left to go to the bottom.

Other money-makers were more fortunate. It was possible to shake the pagoda tree in all manner of ways, and even by conducting the official Gazette : as witness the following entry made while Farington was staying with Wilson :

September 10, 1811.—Mr. Frank Horsley, Brother to the late Bishop of St. Asaph came in for a short time, being on His way to His House at Hollingberry 10 miles further in the country. He returned from Calcutta 3 or 4 years ago with a handsome fortune made by conducting and publishing the Calcutta Gazette.

Francis Horsley appears in the Calcutta Directory for 1805 as " Superintendent of the Hon'ble Company's Press." The office was then in Esplanade Row : that of the *India Gazette* was " behind Writers' Buildings," of the *Hurkaru* in Loll Bazar, and of the *Telegraph* in Coggitollah. The first number of the " Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser " appeared on March 4, 1784 : in pursuance of an official announcement on February 9 of the same year that " the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council have permitted Mr. Francis Gladwin to publish a gazette under their sanction and authority." Horsley left for England " via America " in the American ship *Martha* in January, 1808.

Before he brought his visit to Lestock Wilson to a close, Farington met no less a person than Samuel Davis, the friend and patron of Thomas and William Daniell (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 9—10). Davis had been elected a Director of the Company on October 10, 1810, upon the death of Sir Francis Baring after an unsuccessful contest earlier in the same year, in which Richard Twining had defeated him. (Diary, April 11, 1810). On September 16, 1811, he talked to Farington about the expense of living at Calcutta, which he had left in 1806.

He said that He thought £3,000 a year was a sum required to live handsomely and that it would go as far as the same sum would do in London. House rent is very dear at Calcutta. His House cost him £600 a year unfurnished. Butcher's meat, Poultry, Butter, etc., are much cheaper than in London. A fine sirloin of Beef costs 7s. 6d. Leg of mutton 2s. 6d. Many servants are required, but their wages are very low, not more than £10 a year. Wine costs about as much as it does in London.

On the following day (September 17, 1811) at eleven o'clock Farington left Epping Grove with Mr. and Mrs. Davis, "being accommodated with a seat in their carriage."

M^y. Davis being an India Director I had some conversation with him, respecting the manner in which the Directors carry on business. He said that all business is done by Committees. The Secret Committee which has the care of all the political dispatches which require secret consideration, consists of three Members, viz. The Chairman: the Deputy Chairman: and one other Director. The days of meeting established for the Directors are Wednesdays and Fridays: but more particularly the former on which day a dinner is provided at the London Tavern to which the (Directors) adjourn after business is concluded. When they meet in the morning the first business is to read papers, after which Committees are formed for the purpose of doing what is necessary, there are Committees of Shipping, of correspondence—of Warehouses etc., etc. The appointment of Chairman is not by rotation but by election, and a Director may pass His life without being in that situation.

An insight is given on June 26, 1811, into the jealousy with which the Directors looked upon the presence in India of persons unconnected with the Company's service.

Dr. Hughes I called upon and saw Him. Mr. (Richard) Twining, the India Director, and His Two Sons were there. He spoke to me abt, a young man of the name of Haynes who had applied to the Court of Directors for leave to go to India as a Portrait and Miniature Painter, and He wished to obtain some information respecting Him. The Directors have no objection to an artist going, but have to guard against persons going with other views, but under the name of artists.

The fame of Mr. Haynes as an artist in Calcutta has not survived. The names of two persons of the name of Haynes are given in the Directory of 1813: but the occupation of neither is disclosed. The first of these, J. Haynes, is stated to have been at Moorshedabad since 1787: the second is merely described as "G. Haynes."

On September 27, 1811, Farington went on another visit to an Anglo-Indian friend. His host upon this occasion was William Wells, the shipbuilder, who had a house at Red Leaf, Sevenoaks. Wells had been second officer of

the *Lascelles* Indiaman (824 tons) when Richard Atherton Farington, the Diarist's brother, was in command, and made a voyage in her to China which lasted from April 6, 1792, to May 6 1793. He had then been appointed captain of the *Albion* (961 tons) and after taking her to China (May 2, 1794 to December 28, 1795) had left the Company's Service to become joint partner with his brother in the Greenland and Blackwall Docks and shipyards. Seven years later the brothers sold their interest for £140,000 to Sir Robert Wigram, the founder of the famous Money Wigram fleet of clippers, who started life as a surgeon in the Company's Service. He made two voyages to St. Helena and Bencoolen in the *Duke of Richmond* (March 2, 1768 to June 16, 1709) and to St. Helena, Bencoolen and China in the *British King* (February 21, 1770 to May 25, 1772)—and then opened a little drug shop. His enormous fortune was amassed "by obtaining shares of Indiamen and by degrees becoming Ships Husband to several ships."

While staying with William Wells, Farington met Philip Francis who was then seventy-one years of age (his death took place in 1818) and thus records his impressions :—

October 11, 1811 :—Sir Philip Francis was in India (Bengal) in the time of Mr. Hastings being Governor there, Sir Philip being sent out with General Clavering by the English Government for some political purposes.—He there opposed Mr. Hastings and personally in such a manner as to cause a Duel between them in which Sir Philip was wounded.—When Mr. Hastings was tried before the House of Lords Sir Philip was made one of the Managers against him and exhibited an inveteracy of hatred such as to disgust those who think liberally. A few years ago He was made a Knight of the Bath (3). I now judged Him to be 68 or towards 70 years old, but well looking for His age. I observed He drank a few glasses of wine, perhaps 3 or 4, but seemed to be one who takes great care of Himself.—There was no conversation of an interesting kind. A little was said abt. the exportation of our coin and the ill effects of it. Sir Philip expressed himself against the exportation, but said the arguments which He heard on the subject He never could understand, "they were to him gibberish."

About a year earlier, on June 29, 1810,* we get the following side-light on the impeachment of Warren Hastings :—

Taylor spoke of Major Scott Waring to whom Mr. Hastings gave a Bond for £5,000 for the trouble He had respecting the Trial of Mr. Hastings. . . It was by the ill-judged zeal of the Major that the Trial of Mr. Hastings took place, which had not the Major irritated and provoked the opposition then in parliament would not have happened.

(3) Extract from the Farington Diary of October 30, 1806 : "Sir G. H. Barlow was created at Knight of the Bath yesterday.—Sir Philip Francis also."—Barlow's knighthood was a solatium for his failure to obtain the succession to Cornwallis as Governor-General in 1805 : (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 26—29).

Some account of Major John Scott—or Scott/Waring as he subsequently became—has already been given in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 14—15). He was M.P. for West Looe, a pocket borough in Cornwall, from 1784 to 1800. The Taylor mentioned is John Taylor, who became Editor of the "Morning Post" about the year 1787, and died in 1832.

There was, however, another John Taylor (1781-1834) who was a publisher and the author of "Junius Identified with a Distinguished Living Character," of which the first edition appeared in 1813, and a supplement, in which the question of handwriting was discussed, in 1817. On the publication of this book, Erskine wrote: "I have no difficulty in saying that, though he (Francis) has been for many years a very kind acquaintance, I should be obliged, if the publication were the capital offence, and I were upon his jury, to find him guilty without leaving the box." Posterity has agreed to accept this view, and the controversy on the subject of the authorship of the "Letters of Junius" may be regarded as settled: but sixty years ago there were persons in Calcutta who were not convinced of the complicity of Francis.

Rai Promatha Nath Mullick Bahadur has called our attention to the following extract from the issue of "The Friend of India" for February 22, 1855, which is, he states, quoted in its turn from the "Englishman":

There is a gentleman in Calcutta who possesses an original document which will ever set at rest the question of the authorship of Junius's Letters. It bears three signatures—that of Chatham on the right hand side and on the left that of Dr. Wilmot and J. Dunning. Those who have seen the document are induced from the appearance of the ink, paper, and the writing, to consider it genuine.

The key to the enigma is, we think, to be found in the name of Dr. Wilmot. Dr. James Wilmot, rector of Barton on Heath, was the uncle of Olive Wilmot Serres, the wife of John Thomas Serres (1759-1825) who was for a time marine-painter to George the Third. The father of Olive Wilmot Serres was a house-painter at Warwick: but she entertained other notions of her origin. On July 14, 1820, she presented a petition to the House of Commons, in which she asserted that she was "Princess Olive of Cumberland," the legitimate daughter of William Duke of Cumberland, second son of George the Third, and claimed recognition as such. Her striking resemblance to the Royal Family seems to have convinced many persons of the truth of her story: "She is the very image of our Royal family," wrote Thomas Creevey on November 11, 1820 (Creevey Papers, edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell: 1903. Vol. I. p. 339). But her claim was totally unsupported by evidence, and she died in the King's Bench "rules" in 1834. Later on, in 1860, her daughter Lavinia Ryves attempted to obtain a legal declaration of legitimacy and was equally unsuccessful. There were about seventy documents in the case, the signatures on which were pronounced to be forgeries. It was another of Olive Wilmot Serres' delusions that her uncle, Dr. James Wilmot, was the writer of the Letters of Junius.

Two facsimiles are given in Mr. Edward Twisleton's book on "The Handwriting of Junius" (London 1871) of certain specimens of Dr. Wilmot's handwriting which were published by Mrs. Serres in 1813. In one of these so-called specimens the initials of Wilmot are attached to a statement dated "March 17—67" and asserting that "I have this day completed my last letter of Ju—s and sent the same to L—d S—ne" (Lord Shelburne). This is a palpable forgery and was denounced as such in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1813 by George Woodfall who had himself published an edition of the "Letters." As a matter of fact, the first letter signed "Junius" appeared on November 21, 1768, or eighteen months after the time when, according to the statement attributed to Dr. Wilmot, the last letter is supposed to have been completed. Moreover, there are serious physical difficulties in the way of connecting Wilmot with Junius. From the year 1770 onwards he was curate of Kenilworth and during 1771, when Junius must have been living in or near London, the entries in the parish register show that he was habitually residing at Kenilworth which could not in those days be conceivably reached from London in less than two days.

The fact is that there can no longer be any doubt that Philip Francis was the writer. In an entry in his Diary of January 29, 1821, Creevey records :

Saturday I dined at the Fox Club. . . . Before dinner we had some conversation upon the old story whether Francis was Junius or not, Grey (Charles, the 2nd Earl) and (Lord) Erskine expressing their most perfect confidence that he was. Erskine mentioned a most curious thing which was confirmed by Lord Thanet (Sackville Tufton, 9th Earl). It seems they were both dining with Lady Francis, since Sir Philip's death, when Erskine asked her if Francis ever told her, or whether she ever collected from his conversation, that he was the author of Junius. To which she answered that he had never mentioned the subject, and that the only allusion to it was in a book. So she went out of the room and brought back the little book "Junius Identified," and in the title page was written "Francis," and signed with his name : "I leave this book as a legacy to my dear wife." This, I think, considering he never would touch the subject or the book "Junius Identified" affords an additional strong presumption it was he.

According to Dr. Busteed (*Echoes from Old Calcutta*. 4th edition 1908, p. 59) the crowing proof of the identity of Junius with Francis is supplied by his last surviving grandson, the late Mr. H. R. Francis, in his book "Junius Revealed" (1894). The author, in the course of eighty-two pages, elaborates briefly and supplements the evidence of Francis having control of the unmistakable Junius hand, in which he wrote a note to Miss Giles, a young lady at Bath, at Christmas, 1770, accompanied by some complimentary verses to "Belinda," which were copied out by his friend and companion Tilghman. The original of these verses Francis presented to his second wife at her request as a specimen of his youthful versifying. It remained only to identify the

paper. This too was done. In a letter dated November, 1897, Mr. Francis describes how at a meeting at his house, Mr. Giles Puller of the Treasury, a direct descendant of the fair "Belinda," produced Tilghman's copy of the verses with the complimentary note in the feigned hand of Junius. Mr. Francis brought out the original manuscript in his grandfather's handwriting which was found by him in the possession of Lady Francis. It was plain to see that all the three writings were on portions of the same paper—identical in size texture and colour and bearing the same watermark. For further proof of the identity of Francis with Junius, a reference should be made to Mr. C. F. Kary's introduction to "The Francis Papers" (1901).

Reverting from this digression, we may note that on October 11, 1811, Mrs. Dixon, the wife of an Oporto wine merchant, who lived at Sevenoaks, gave a Ball, and "company began to come in towards nine o'clock." There were several Anglo-Indians among the guests who are thus enumerated by Farington:

Old Dowager Lady Monson, grand mother to the last Lord.—Miss Barwell daughter of the late Richd. Barwell of Bengall.—Mr. William Lushington, Senior, Brother of the late Sir Stephen Lushington (Chairman of the East India Direction in 1790). Mr. W. Lushington was long in the East Indies and made a fortune which he afterwards lessened by engaging in West India concerns. He seemed to be 64 or 65 years old.—Miss Lushington, His daughter.

The reference to Barwell's daughter must, it is suggested, be an error; unless he married again after his return to England (see article on the Barwell Family, post, p. 184). It is possible that one of Barwell's sisters is intended. The "last Lord Monson" was the fourth baron, who died in 1809: and the dowager was the widow of the second baron, whose brother, Colonel Monson, lies buried with his wife Lady Anne, in the South Park-street cemetery. William and Stephen Lushington were the sons of the Vicar of Eastbourne, and brothers of Henry Lushington who survived the Black Hole to perish in the Patna massacre in 1763. William married Paulina French on March 28, 1769. He was Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief in 1764 and Supravisor of Hooghly in 1771. On October 31, 1773, he resigned the Company's service, and entered Parliament. "An elegant commodious house" belonging to him at Hooghly and "known as Houghly Hall" was advertised for sale on May 13, 1790. It is described as "situated on the banks of the river at Hooghly and commanding a most delightful and extensive prospect." His daughter Charlotte married on November 22, 1762, Ralph Leycester, one of the civil servants who fell under the displeasure of Clive during his second administration of Bengal.

Peter Moore.

GUARDIAN OF THACKERAY AND FRIEND OF SHERIDAN.

AMONG the few eighteenth century " nabobs " honoured with mention in the Dictionary of National Biography is Peter Moore. But it is not in that capacity that he secures admittance. The distinction falls to him because of his association with, two of the greatest master of English literature. His connexion with the Company's service made him the guardian of William Makepeace Thackeray: his passion for politics brought him the friendship of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. He was the son of a Cheshire clergyman and was born in 1753. The influence of his elder brother, Edward, a barrister, with Lord Holland and the Whig party obtained for him a writership on the Bengal Establishment.

On January 10, 1774, he married at Patna, Sarah Webb, the second daughter of Col. Richmond Webb. She is said to have just turned fourteen at the time of her wedding. Her elder sister Amelia married " Sylhet " Thackeray at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on January 31, 1776: and their son, Richmond Thackeray (B.C.S. 1797-1815) was the father of the novelist, who was born in Calcutta on July 18, 1811, and sent home to England in 1817, when Moore acted as his guardian. A third sister, Augusta, married Thomas Evans of the Company's service on November 20, 1778. Lady Ritchie (Anne Thackeray) in her preface to the " Ballads and Miscellanies " in the Biographical Edition of her father's works gives many interesting details regarding the Webb girls in Bengal.

Moore seems to have been noted as a bon-vivant while in Calcutta. Hickey records (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 205) that he gave a carousé in April 1784 to celebrate the arrival of James Grant, an old shipmate of his on the *Plassey*. Among the party were " the famous Colonel John Mordaunt, eldest natural son of the old Earl of Peterborough," who figures prominently in Zoffany's " Cock Match," and " Messieurs John Haldane, Archibald Montgomerie, Peter Moore and others of equal fame in the bottle way." Being anxious to provide claret which would be worthy of " such a set," Hickey after much enquiry discovered that there was a small quantity at Baxter and Joy's, " who kept a Europe shop": and he obtained three dozen at sixty-five rupees a dozen.

There is the following further reference to Moore in Hickey's Memoirs: " While residing at Pott's Gardens (in 1783) I renewed my acquaintance with Mr. Peter Moore and his family, which gentleman is now become a prodigious politician. He still continues to represent the city of Coventry in Parliament and frequently speaks in the House, always in the opposition. His change from poverty to affluence was uncommonly rapid. At the time of my return

BLAGAL: PAST AND PRESENT
VOLUME XXVI



PETER MOORE.
(From a Portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.)

to India in 1783 I found him no better situated in point of circumstances than when I left him in 1779. He had a wife, with a host of children, was deeply involved in debt without a prospect of ever being able to extricate himself, far, having rendered himself obnoxious to Mr. Hastings, he had long been without employ, for several years receiving nothing but the three hundred and odd rupees a month allowed to senior servants who held no post or office: . . . Within three months of that gentleman's quitting the Governor-Generalship, he accepted the Residency at Rungpore, whence in somewhat less than eighteen months he returned to Calcutta with so overgrown a fortune as to be enabled to return with all his family to England, get into the House of Commons, and purchase a fine estate in Sussex. By what means such wealth was so suddenly acquired he best knows." (Vol. III, p. 264).

The following details of Moore's official career in India have been extracted from the records in the possession of the Government of India. He was appointed a writer on November 11, 1768, and was posted to the Collector General's office on August 7, 1769. He became Deputy Collector on November 2, 1771: and in 1776 was appointed by Hastings to be fifth member of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue. On March 21, 1780, he went to Moorshedabad as first member of Council, and returned to the Presidency on August 3, 1782, as Collector of Calcutta. During the years 1783 and 1784, he was one of the Commissioners of Police in Calcutta: and on July 18, 1785 proceeded to Europe on three years' leave "for the recovery of his health." There is some discrepancy between these facts and the story told by Hickey. Hastings went home in the beginning of 1785, a few months before Moore: and the dates ascertainable from the records lend no colour to the assertion that he remained for several years without employment. Nor are these dates compatible with the further statement relating to his acceptance of the Residency at Rungpore.

On his return to England, Moore settled down, not in Sussex, as Hickey has it, but at Hadley in Middlesex, and became Lord of the Manor. Here too "Syllhet" Thackeray, his brother in law, and his wife made their home: and also Henrietta Thackeray, widow of James Harris, once Chief at Dacca: while Major and Mrs. Rennell (another of the Thackeray sisters) would often complete the family party by driving over from London.

Moore soon plunged into an active political career. He actively assisted Burke and Sheridan with material for their attack on Hastings, and gave evidence as a hostile witness at the trial. In 1796 he contested Tewkesbury, in company with Philip Francis, and they obtained a majority of the householders in their favour, but were unseated by the House of Commons on the ground that freemen and freeholders alone had a right to vote. Six years later he made another attempt. With Wilberforce Bird "of Wood Street, Cheapside"—one of Hickey's boon companions in London in 1780 (Memoirs, Vol. II) and father of William Wilberforce Bird who acted as Governor-General in 1844 on the recall of Lord Ellenborough—he offered himself for election at Coventry in 1802. He was again unsuccessful, but secured the

seat at a bye-election on March 30, 1803, at an expenditure of over £25,000, and continued to represent the constituency until 1824. Bird ruined himself by these repeated contests and was glad to accept an appointment at the Cape of Good Hope.

In Parliament Moore attached himself to the advanced Whig party which was led by Romilly. He played a prominent part in the Westminster Election of 1804, when he proposed Fox, and again in November, 1806, when Sheridan and Admiral Sir Samuel Hood were successful, defeating James Paull, an Anglo-Indian adventurer from Lucknow, who is supposed by some to be the original of Judas in Zoffany's "Last Supper" (1). Sheridan lost his seat in June 1807, when Paull was again a candidate, and Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane were elected. Moore continued to befriend him: as may be seen from the following entry in the Farington Diary:

March 28, 1808—Sheridan has not at present any house, as were He to take a House, His goods would be seized. He at present lives with Peter Moore, the Member for Coventry, at His House in Great George Street, Westminster, but Mrs. Sheridan is not there with Him.

When Sheridan died in 1816 his body lay in Moore's house in Great George Street until it was taken to Westminster Abbey for burial: and it was Moore who placed the memorial tablet on his grave. A Richard Brinsley Sheridan was in the Madras Civil Service from 1825 to 1832, when he went home on absentee allowance and was "out of the service" in 1837. His nomination as a writer was perhaps procured through the influence of Peter Moore.

Readers of Thackeray will remember the story of the bankruptcy of old Sedley, the father of the Collector of "Boggleywollah," and how Colonel Newcome lost the whole of his savings in the collapse of the Bundelcund Bank. These incidents may well have been inspired by recollections of the tragic end of his guardian's career. Moore was a keen company promoter, and was concerned, among other enterprises, in the rebuilding of Drury Lane Theatre, the construction of the Highgate tunnel, and the floating of the Imperial Gas Light Company. The readiness with which he lent his name as Chairman and Director eventually involved him in such financial difficulties that in 1825

(1) Extract from the Farington Diary for November 18, 1806:

The Election for Westminster terminated—the 15th Day.—

For Sir Samuel Hood	...	...	...	5478
Mr. Sheridan	...	...	...	4758
Mr. Paul	...	...	...	4481

Majority for Mr. Sheridan ... 277

Sir Thomas Lawrence took a great interest in this election. On November 11, 1806, he told Farington that he had "a great desire for Sheridan to be returned for Westminster, and said He had been much neglected by the Fox party, who had never forgiven him for not seceding from the House of Commons when they did," and also for his support of the Government at the time of the Mutiny at the Nore. "Every Election," Lawrence added on the authority of Kemble, "drained Sheridan's Purse. Each time not less than £8,000."

—when the novelist was fourteen years old and still a boy at "Greyfriars"—he was obliged to fly to Dieppe to escape arrest and surrendered all his property, except a small maintenance, for the relief of those who had been ruined by his undertakings. He remained abroad and died at Abbeville on May 5, 1828.

Five of Moore's children were baptised in Calcutta: Richmond (February 15, 1776), Edward (January 12, 1777), George Peter (May 25, 1777), Maria Sarah (October 18, 1779), and Louisa Dacres (February 7, 1783). There were in addition two other sons, St. John, who was born in 1786, (writer 1802, died in Calcutta, September 2, 1805), and Macartney (evidently a godson of Lord Macartney, who was Governor of Fort St. George from 1781 to 1785 and paid a visit to Calcutta on his way home): writer 1804, arrived in Bengal, May 16, 1806, Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in the Agra, Allyghur, and Sydahad divisions, March 1, 1829: proceeded on furlough on March 1, 1830, and died in London on June 15, 1831. Macartney Moore was the only son who survived his father.

The portrait of Moore, which faces page 180, is taken from a photograph of a picture by Gainsborough, supplied by Colonel John Shakespear, C.M.G., C. I.E., D.S.O., formerly Resident at Manipur. Col. Shakespear is the younger son of Sir Richmond Shakespear and Marian Sophia Thompson (daughter of George Nesbitt Thompson, Hasting's private Secretary) and grandson of John Talbot Shakespear (B.C.S. 1800-1825) and Emily Thackeray, daughter of "Sylhet" Thackeray and niece of Moore.

The Barwell Family.

WILLIAM BARWELL, the father of Richard Barwell, came out as a factor in 1772 and after acting as Chief at Patna was President and Governor at Fort William from April 1748 to July 17, 1749. His dismissal from the service was ordered by the Directors in a letter dated January 18, 1749; and the reason, as stated in a later letter of January 27, 1749, was "his violent behaviour at Patna to Mr. Jackson, his not setting seal to a paper which the Council thought was necessary for carrying into execution their contract with Omichund Deepchand, and his return from thence without leave from his superiors at Calcutta." He returned to England and was a Director of the Company from 1753 to 1757, again from 1758 to 1765, and a third time from 1766 to 1767. He was three times married and on each occasion in Calcutta. His first wife was a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Eyre, whom he married on February 15, 1730. She died on September 25, 1731, at the age of twenty-two and was buried in St. John's Churchyard, where her tombstone with an elaborate Latin inscription may still be seen. He then married Mrs. Ann Atkinson, on November 21, 1731-32, and, finally, Elizabeth Peirce on February 27, 1739. The following children were born to him in Bengal:--

1. Mary, baptized November 10, 1733.
2. Amy, baptized September 8, 1736.
3. William, baptized October 13, 1740.
4. Richard, born October 8, and baptized October 31, 1741.
5. John, baptized July 20, 1743.
6. Roger, baptized December 22, 1747.

These dates are given in the "old style.")

Four other children were born after his return to England: Frances, James, Daniel Octavus, and Edward.

Richard Barwell, the second son, arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1758. In 1759, he was assistant in the Secretary's office: 1761, assistant in the Accountant's office: 1762, sub-military store-keeper, in addition: 1764, Factor, sub-accountant, and keeper of the accounts deposits: 1765, Resident at Maldah: 1767, Junior Merchant without employ: 1768, Second in Council at Cossimbazar: 1770, Twelfth of Council at the Presidency, military paymaster, and mintmaster: 1771, Ninth of Council and Chief at Patna: 1773, Chief at Dacca, and also Collector of Luckypore and Silhet: 1774, Member of the Supreme Council of the Governor-General at Fort William in Bengal. He steadily supported Hastings and fought a duel with General Clavering in April, 1775. In 1780, he resigned the Service and returned to Europe.

Extensive property was owned by him in Calcutta, including the land upon which nineteen houses, which are now enclosed in Writers' Buildings,

were erected by Thomas Lyon in 1776. These he rented to the Company through Lyon a few days before his departure. "Mr. Barwell's house taken for five years by his own vote at 31, 720 current rupees per annum to be paid half-yearly in advance," writes Francis in his diary on February 29, 1780, "Mr. Wheler and I declare we shall not sign the lease." The buildings had "a range of Boutiques at the back." His house at Kidderpore was subsequently utilized for the accommodation of the Military Orphan Asylum. It was purchased by him from the famous Munny Begum, the widow of Meer Jaffar. He had also a house "fronting the Esplanade," in which George Francis Grand and his bride lived for ten months after their marriage, a "small house on the western side of the road leading from Surnan's Bridge" (which is supposed to be the modern Kidderpore Vicarage) and a gardenhouse at Baraset. Lastly, he was the owner of a fine villa at Garden Reach, "the first to be built in that situation" (S. C. Grier, *The Great Proconsul*, p. 16).

On his return to England, Barwell became M.P. for St. Ives and Winchester and died on September 2, 1804. He married on September 13, 1770, Elizabeth Jane Sanderson, daughter of Robert Sanderson, a Company's servant, who gave evidence in the Grand-Francis case. She was a celebrated Calcutta beauty and died on November 9, 1778, aged about 25 years. Two sons of Richard Barwell were baptized in Calcutta at St. John's Church: Richard, on January 13, 1778, and Edward James, after his mother's death, on February 8, 1779.

There is much about Barwell's experiences in England in the second volume of "The Memoirs of William Hickey," (pp. 297—303, 306—309). Hickey says that he came home, according to common report, with a fortune of upwards of four hundred thousand pounds sterling. "His first habitation in London was in a house belonging to an old maiden sister, Miss Mary Barwell, in Great Ormond Street, Bloomsbury," but he had already in 1781 purchased Stanstead Park, near Chichester, which had been the seat of Lord (Hickey tells us) was a Parliamentary borough returning two members. It was at Standstead that Barwell said "Bring more curricles."

Of the third son John, we read in a letter written by Richard Barwell to his father on November 26, 1765, that "his refusing to go to India in the station you had been so kind to procure him, is to me no matter of wonder," as he would have had to serve under his younger brother if he had accepted the appointment.

Roger, the younger brother in question, had arrived in Bengal as a writer on August 26, 1764. In 1765, he became assistant to the Assay Master at Calcutta and in 1766 was appointed assistant at Cossimbazar. There is no trace of him in the lists after 1767: and Richard Barwell, in a letter of May 15, 1776, to his sister Mary alludes to him as "our late brother Roger." In an earlier letter to his father, on October 4, 1769, he mentions that Roger "had been induced to take a trip to Europe by ill-health and disappointments."

The sixth son, Daniel, who was also in the Company's service in Bengal, figures almost as prominently as Richard in the second volume of the "Memoirs of William Hickey." He left Calcutta for Europe in 1778, in the *Osterley* (758 tons, Captain Samuel Rogers) and when off the Mauritius on February 22, 1779, had the misfortune to encounter a large French privateer, in which, according to Hickey, "Mr. Whittall, then high in the Company's civil service at Madras, but much engaged in commercial concerns with the French, was said to be a part owner" (1). The *Osterley* was compelled to strike her colours and was carried a prize to the Isle of France. Barwell obtained permission some weeks later to leave the island in an American vessel, in which he proceeded to the Cape and there embarked in a Dutch East Indiaman. When off the port of Middelburg in Holland, the vessel ran on a sandbank and was totally lost. Barwell attempted to swim ashore, a distance of three miles, with a companion who had been a midshipman on the *Osterley*; and both were drowned. The remainder of those on board, with the exception of six, were ultimately rescued. Mary Barwell, "an eccentric odd woman," persisted in believing that her brother had been murdered, on account of a large sum of money and jewels which he had with him and for months bombarded the Court of Directors and the Cabinet with letters. An enquiry was held, and death was definitely established to be due to drowning: but the letters continued. In a letter of August 2, 1779, to James Barwell, Ralph Leycester and William Bensley (Director from 1786 to 1810) in London, Richard Barwell mentions that he has "shift on board" the *Royal Henry* East Indiaman, Capt. Ralph Dundas, "sundry Rupees which with freight amount to current Rupees 1,60,603.5-10 on account and risk of my brother Daniel Barwell."

James Barwell, the fifth son, was the seagoing member of the family. On December 4, 1765, Richard Barwell writes from Calcutta to James, and congratulates him upon "having quitted the ship at Bombay, as you have, by what I then thought an imprudent step, escaped the wreck in which every one of your shipmates (the second officer excepted) have been fatally involved." He is glad to find that your treatment from Richardson has been unexceptionable, and that your passage, none of the shortest, proved more agreeable than you expected it." James was evidently anticipating an appointment as supercargo at Canton, but his brother "imagines him perfectly easy under the disappointment" and hope that his stay in England "will not produce further discontent." We find from Hardy's Register that James Barwell shipped as fourth officer in the *Anson* (499 tons, Capt. Edward Lord Chick) which sailed from the Downs on April 2, 1764 on her first voyage to Bombay, and arrived back in the Downs on May 25, 1765. The accident that occurred was not to her, for she sailed again for Madras and Bombay

(1) Hickey must be referring to Thomas Whitehill, who arrived on the Coromandel coast as a writer in 1752, and was in 1768 appointed a Senior Merchant and Member of the Governor's Council. In 1780 he was deprived of his seat in Council and dismissed the Company's service.

on April 6, 1766, with Captain John Lennox in command, and an entirely new set of officers except the surgeon and the purser, and returned safely to the Downs on October 18, 1767. James Barwell's second ship was the *Earl of Elgin* (499 tons, Capt. Thomas Cooke) in which he sailed as third officer for the Coast and Bay on March 8, 1767, returning to the Downs on August 23, 1768. He must have left the *Anson* at Bombay, as his brother says, and have joined, and suddenly left, a country ship which was wrecked immediately afterwards. The letter to which Richard Barwell replied was written on February 8, 1765 in London: so that clearly he did not return in the *Anson*.

On September 21, 1767, Richard Barwell informs his mother regarding James that "his ship being ordered to Vizagapatam with troops, he is now absent" from Calcutta.

On January 6, 1768, he tells his father of the success of his applications to various persons to take shares "as part-owners in a ship which he is building" for his brother, James. James is duly sworn in as a commander in the marine service of the Company on February 1, 1771 and takes not a new ship, but the *Ankerwyke* (499 tons, owner Barrington Buggin) to "the Coast" and China for her third voyage, returning on October 2, 1772. He makes another voyage in her on January 16, 1775 to "the Coast and Bay" returning on August 26, 1776 and his name then disappears from Hardy's Register.

The following Barwells are buried in Calcutta: Charles Richard (writer, 1804, died 1836), Frederick Page (1834-1836), Augusta Charlotte (1817-1836), Edward D'Oyly (1810-1840), James Richard (born 1784, writer 1799, died 1833) Anna Maria (died 1882) and E. Barwell (1789-1826).

The names of four Barwells—James Richard (1799-1828), Edward Richard (1804-1839), Charles Richard (1804-1835) and Arthur Champion (1805-1841)—are given in Prinsep's "List of Company's Servants of the Bengal establishment from 1790 to 1842."

James Richard Barwell—(writer 1799): Died at Chowringhee, April 16, 1833; Sub-treasurer at the Presidency, Sept. 30, 1817, and Director Bank of Bengal: Comptroller of the Treasury, May 22, 1828.

Edward Richard Barwell—(writer 1804) became third member of the Board of Revenue on January 10, 1828; Judge of the 24-Pergunnahs in 1835 and of Jessore in 1838: retired on annuity February 6, 1839.

Charles Richard Barwell: (writer 1804) died December 12, 1836 at Calcutta. He was Asst. to the Registrar of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, Sept. 29, 1810, Judge and Magte. of 24 Pergunnahs, July 4, 1817 and held Calcutta appointments until Sept. 15, 1829. In May, 1834 he officiated as Special Commissioner for Calcutta, and was appointed a Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, on November 26, 1835.

Arthur Champion Barwell: (writer 1805) was Salt Agent at Jessore, 1821, Cuttack 1828, and Hidgellee, 1841.

The total Indian Service of the Barwell family therefore extended from 1722 to 1841.

A Letter of Thomas Daniell.

WE reproduce in facsimile on the opposite page an interesting holograph letter addressed by Thomas Daniell on January 25, 1793, to "The Hon'ble Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart., President and Governor, etc., in Council, Fort St. George." The letter is preserved in the Public Consultations of Fort Saint George (Vol. CLXXXI): and our warmest thanks are due to His Excellency Lord Willingdon, Governor of Madras, for the photograph, which was specially taken under his orders.

Sir Charles Oakeley was a Company's servant, who came out as a writer on the Madras Establishment in 1767, at the age of sixteen. He was appointed Factor in 1774, Junior Merchant in 1776, and Senior Merchant in 1778. After serving as Judge-Advocate-General, and President of the Board of Revenue (1786-1788) he became a Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George in 1790, and was created a baronet on June 5 of the same year. He was named Governor in succession to Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, who made over charge on February 7, 1789, but had to remain as Second in Council until August 1, 1792, when Major-General William Medows, the Commander-in-chief, embarked for England. He held office until September 7, 1794, when he was succeeded by Lord Hobart. Like Lord Macartney, he declined the post of Governor-General of India, and died on September 7, 1826.

Robert Clerk, who examined Daniell's box, and "affixed the Hon'ble Company's seal thereto," was a writer of 1781, and held from 1786 to 1793 the office of "Deputy Sea Customer, and Deputy Secretary, Commercial and Revenue Department, Sea Gate Register, and Clerk of the Peace." He was second member of the Board of Trade in 1800, and "out of the service" in 1805. From 1812 to 1815 he was a Director of the Company, and died in the year last named.

The *Ponsborne*, which carried home the "Drawings and Scetches" was an Indiaman of 804 tons, under the command of Captain James Thomas. She had left the Downs for "the Coast and Bay" on April 6, 1792, and reached Madras on July 31, and Diamond Harbour on August 17. The date of her return to her home moorings is July 5, 1793. On her outward voyage she brought to Bengal Thomas Twining, a young writer, known to later generations as the author of "Travels in India a Hundred Years ago" (published by his sons in 1893).

The fruits of the expedition to Cape Comorin may be seen in "Oriental Scenery." The second series which was published in London in August 1797, contains the following views of Madura, "taken in July, 1792," Trichinopoly, "taken in June, 1792," and Tanjore, "taken in September, 1792":

To The Hon.^{ble} Sir Charles Cateley, Bart.
President & Governor in Council

Hon.^{ble} Sir, Fort St. George

Having a small Box (marked ^{TD}) containing
Drawings & sketches made by myself & Joseph W. Howard
on a Tour from this place to Cape Comorin, which from their
pursable nature & some very curious may be delivered as
early as possible to Messrs. Colver, Boston & Co. London,
unopened (being previously examined here by Messrs. Colver &
closed by him, & the Hon.^{ble} Company's seal affixed
thereto) solicit the indulgence of Government, to that
effect, of mention being made of them in the general
Letter, & for permission to send them to England on the
Hon.^{ble} Company's Ship Penobscot.

I am with due respect
Hon.^{ble} Sir,
your very obliged & faithful
Thos. Daniel

Fort St. George
Jan^y. 25. 1793

A LETTER FROM THOMAS DANIEL 1793.

[Public Consultations. Fort Saint George, Vol. CLXXXI.]

(From a photograph presented by His Excellency
Lord Willingdon, Governor of Madras.)

- No. 13. Part of the Palace, Madura.
- No. 14. View in the Fort of Madura.
- No. 15. Interior view of the Palace at Madura.
- No. 16. An Hindoo Temple at Madura.
- No. 17. Ruins of the Palace, Madura.
- No. 18. Tremal Naig's choultry, Madura.
- No. 19. The Rock of Tritchinopoly, taken on the River Cauvery.
- No. 20. The Great Pagoda, Tritchinopoly.
- No. 21. View in the Fort of Tritchinopoly.
- No. 22. The Great Bull, an Hindoo Idol, Tanjore.
- No. 23. South East view of Tritchinopoly.
- No. 24. The Great Pagoda, Tanjore.

The first twelve sketches in the series are distributed equally between Fort Saint George and Calcutta. The six Calcutta views are stated to have been "taken in 1792," and the Madras views "in 1793." The whole twenty-four are "drawn by Thomas Daniell and engraved by himself and William Daniell."

In the third series, published in London in June, 1801, and "drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell," there are four views of Southern India :

- No. 11. Jag Deo and Warrangur, two of the twelve Hill Forts in the Barramhl, which were in the possession of the late Sultaun Tippoo: given up without resistance to the English in 1792 Distant from Kistnagherry, eastward, about 7 miles.
- No. 12. Ryacotta, in the Barramahl, one of the highest and strongest hill forts; taken by Major Gowdie in July 1792.
- No. 13. Verapadroog, one of the most romantic forts in the Barramahl: 11 miles distant from Ryacotta.
- No. 14. Ousoor, in the Mysore: taken without much resistance by Major Gowdie in July, 1792: about 20 miles distant from Bangalore.

In the fourth series, published in London in May, 1807, and "drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell," the seven views of scenes in the Madras Presidency, which are said to have been taken in July and August, 1792, "commence with Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of Hindoostan":

- No. 1. Cape Comorin, near Calcad.
- No. 2. Waterfall of Puppanassum, in the Tinnyvelly district on the river Tumrabunni; a few miles below the fall, that river passes the fort of Palamcottah.
- No. 3. Waterfall at Courtallum, in the Tinnevely district: about 20 miles northward from Puppanassum: called Tancanche (Tenkási): the height of the cataract is 220 feet.
- No. 4. Shevagurri: 100 miles from Cape Comorin, at the foot of a range of hills: a small village, the residence of a Poligar Rajah.

- No. 5. Cheval-pettore : in the district of Tinnyvelly. The town of that name, which is not introduced, lies about one mile distant on the left of the Fort, which is shown in the sketch. The Hills contiguous to the Fort are well wooded and rise abruptly out of the plain. These Carnatic mountains are of all dimensions from the Sugar Loaf of Trichinopoly to Severn Droog.
- No. 6. Near Attoor, in the Dindigul district, south of the Kingdom of Mysore, inhabited by a class of human creatures whose shaggy forms and ferocious aspect appear sufficient to strike terror into the hearts even of lions and tigers.
- No. 7. Sankry Droog taken from the north-west side. One of the largest of those fortified hills that occur so frequently in the Carnatic : and situated near the eastern limits of the Coimbatore district. Formerly in the possession of Tippoo Sultaun, but taken by the English under Lord Cornwallis. In the distance may be seen the river Cauvery where, quitting the hilly country, it first make its appearance in the plains of the Carnatic.

In the sixth series, which is entitled "Antiquities of India" and was published in London on October 15, 1799, the South Indian views are stated to have taken in the year 1793 and to be "from the drawings of Thomas Daniell, R.A. and F.S.A., engraved by Himself and William Daniell."

These are :

- No. 1. Sculptured rocks at Mauveleporam, on the coast of Coromandel.
- No. 2. The entrance to an excavated Hindoo Temple at Mauveleporam.
- No. 14. An Antique Reservoir near Colar in the Mysore : about 30 miles in an E. direction from Bangalore.
- No. 17. View near Bangalore : showing Temple. On the left is the Chackra or discus of Vishnoo placed horizontally and supported by a pillar : on the right a pavilion, and further on a stone pillar on the top of which on particular occasions is placed the sacred fire.
- No. 18. Entrance to a Hindoo Temple near Bangalore.
- No. 21. A pavilion belonging to a Hindoo Temple : near Mauveleporam.

We have in addition the record of a number of pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy, both by Thomas and by William Daniell. The titles of many of these will be found in the footnotes to the article on "The Daniells in India" which was published in Vol. XXV of *Bengal Past and Present*: (see in particular pp. 7, 12, 20). Judging from the preponderance of views of Madras scenery, it must regretfully be acknowledged that the Daniells found more to attract them in Southern India than in the North.

Michael Madhu Sudhan Dutt and His Anglo-Indian Wives.

IT is not an easy task to 'unravel, at' this distance of time, the details concerning the two marriages contracted with Anglo-Indian ladies by Michael Madhu Sudhan Dutt, the great Bengali epic poet and author of the famous "Meghnadabada" (1). The first of these wives, Rebecca Mactavish, was the daughter of an indigo planter in the Madras Presidency. She was of Scottish parentage, but resident in India. Her grandfather was Dugald Mactavish, an agent of the firm of Arbuthnot and Company, the once famous South Indian mercantile house, which owned indigo concerns at Cuddapah. The poet married this lady against the wishes of her parents, most probably in the year 1848, when he was usher in the Madras Male Asylum for the children of Europeans and their descendants.

In a letter to one of his friends, written from Madras, dated March 19, 1849, Dutt writes in affectionate terms of the partner he had chosen: "Talking of my good lady puts me in mind of the introduction of the 'Captive'." This was one of the English poems which he addressed to her. He gives a specimen:—

Oh! beautiful as Inspiration, when
She fills the poet's breast, her faery shrine,
Waved by melodious worship! Welcome then
Though ours the home of want—I ne'er repine—
Art thou not there—e'en thou—a precious gem and mine?
Life hath its dreams to beautify its scene;
And sunlight for its desert: but there be
None softer in its store—of brighter sheen—
Than love—than gentle love—and thou to me
Art that sweet dream, mine own in glad reality!

(1) The following account of the life of Michael Madhu Sudhan Dutt (1824-1873) is adapted from Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography: "Son of Raj Narayan Dutt, a pleader in the Sudder Court: born January 25, 1824. Educated in the Hindu College under Derozi. When his father wished him to marry, he ran away to the missionaries and on February 9, 1843, was baptized as a Christian: remained at Bishop's College, Calcutta, from 1843 to 1847, and then went to Madras, where he lived in great poverty: returning to Calcutta in 1850 he became interpreter in the Police Court. In 1862 he went to England and was called to the Bar: practised at the Calcutta Bar from 1867, but without any marked success. His improvidence and failings ruined a promising career, and he died in a charitable hospital in Calcutta on June 29, 1873. In literary circles his memory is treasured: he helped to promote a national drama and theatre: produced some meritorious dramas, farces, and poems: and was well acquainted with several European and Oriental languages, besides Greek and Latin. Enjoyed a considerable reputation as a writer of Bengali blank verse which he created and introduced into the language."

Rebecca had two sons and two daughters, of whom one son and one daughter survived her. Little is known of the daughter. The son, Mactavish Dutt, practised for some time as a pleader in the Court of Small Causes at Madras. For seven years the poet lived with his wife, but prior to the year 1855 differences arose; a separation followed and divorce proceedings were taken against her in 1855. Rebecca died in Madras in July 1892.

Mr. G. Parameswaram Pillai, writing on the marriage connections of the poet, states: "While in Madras he married the daughter of a European Indigo Planter, but the marriage was by no means happy: within a few years he obtained a divorce from his wife and married another European lady. She was not only faithful to him, but was a partner in his joys and sorrows to the last."

Supremely interesting is the life of the poet's second Anglo-Indian wife, Emilia Henrietta Sophia (2), whom he married in Madras shortly after securing his divorce. This lady was of French extraction: and her father, at the time of her marriage, was a professor at the Madras Presidency College. The domestic life of the poet was made happy by the solace and comfort she brought him. She shared willingly her husband's sorrows and was a staunch associate of all his penury and distress. Gour Das Bysack writing of her says: "He (the poet) was as happy in her company as possible in this world and she was as faithful as Savitri herself." She was a gifted woman, could read the "Meghnadabada" in Bengali and was an adept at the piano.

The poet left for Europe on June 9, 1862, his wife following him and reaching England on May 2, 1863. Shortly after her arrival the poet with his family went to Paris where they underwent great privations and would have starved if it had not been for the generous assistance given by Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. In 1865 Dutt returned to England in 1865 to study for the Bar, and met the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, who was himself eating his dinners at the time. Dutt was duly called and arrived in Calcutta in February 1867, but he had suffered great distress while in England. Writing from 14, Wood Lane, Shepherd's Bush, London W. on June 18, 1866 to his friend Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar he pours out the story of his troubles in these pathetic paragraphs:—

You cannot imagine what sleepless nights my poor wife and myself have passed, talking over our affairs and prospects, and we have come to the conclusion that it would be better that I should go out alone and that she should follow me some months after, when I have acquired a sort of professional footing.

(2) The maiden name of the lady is not stated in any of the biographies of Michael Dutt. But Mr. S. Kumar, of the Imperial Library, who has been good enough to make enquiries, informs us that in the year 1856 (which was about the time of the marriage) there were two tutors on the staff of the Madras Presidency College, L. Dique, fifth tutor, and A. Dique, sixth tutor, whose name appears to indicate a French origin. It is possible that they may have been related to the second Mrs. Dutt.—EDITOR, *Bengal Past and Present*.

I do not know if you have already forwarded (as I hope you have) the £200. If you have then you must induce our kind friend (?) to give you £300 more and that money you must send me so that it might reach me by the first or at the latest by the second incoming mail of September, for then I shall be in a position to give up this house and seek obscurer and cheaper lodgings somewhere else. The £300 will pay my call expenses and keep us here till I leave so that we shan't trouble you for more money for our living. Then, it will cost me £200 to go out, and I must leave for my wife at least £200 in the Bank—alas! who will give me this money? If you were rich I should not be so miserable, for I know the nobility of your heart. Do you think a letter from me to Jotindra Tagore will have any favourable effect? And then, when I get back to Calcutta, I must look to my own exertions. Why should I fear to fail?

I hope you will send me £200 in September, for I must get out of this house and the last quarter of the year ends with that month. The proprietors are hard-hearted people and if I am unable to pay and move out, they no doubt, will apply the hard enactments of the English law of Landlord and Tenant to my case, for I am a yearly tenant, and if I remain one day after the expiration of the term, they might compel me to keep the house and the house another year, at a higher rate of rent!

The £200 which I expend now every day will pay off last quarter's debts and leave something over to carry us on to next September, and then immediately after the receipt of your letter and the money, I shall apply to the Benchers of Gray's Inn for my Call.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee remained a close and intimate friend of the poet and his family while in England and it is recorded that almost every Sunday he dined with them in their house in London. As already mentioned the poet returned to India in 1867, and in May 1869 his wife with her children followed, having for a time, stayed in Paris before proceeding to India.

When Mr. Bonnerjee was on his way out to Calcutta via Marseilles in July or August 1868, he called on Mrs. Dutt in her Paris home. He found her in a state of acute penury as her husband had not been able to send her remittances regularly. Sympathising with her he offered her his whole purse, containing the modest sum of £10, to take out of it whatever she thought fit. She took £8 leaving only £2 for the owner of the purse to meet his expenses from Paris to Marseilles and for the voyage from Marseilles to Calcutta.

Of the children of the poet by his second marriage, the eldest was a daughter, Henrietta Elizabeth Sharmista. The name "Sharmista" was taken from the well-known drama of the poet called by that name. She was born in the year 1859; and was twice married, firstly, to W. W. Floyd, and on his death to W. B. Nyss. By the latter she had one son, William Brightman Samuel Nyss, who for a time was Superintendent of Excise and Salt in Darjeeling. She died at the age of twenty on February 15, 1879. It is recorded.

that when the poet died in great want in a hospital in Calcutta, (for he was improvident and failed to succeed at the Bar) Sharmista went to Mr. Bonnerjee to beg of him to pay for the funeral expenses. So anxious was she to get the money that it is said she approached the eminent barrister while he was in the midst of a case and actually addressing the Court.

The next child was a son, Frederick Michael Dutt, who was born on July 23, 1861. He showed great promise as an artist but died at the early age of 13 years and 10 months on June 11, 1875.

The youngest son, Albert Napoleon Dutt, was educated at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, as a boarder. The writer well remembers his slim erect figure and his gentle manly manner while continuing his studies in the College. He rose to be Assistant Sub-Deputy Opium Agent at Lucknow, but died at the age of forty on August 22, 1909. A few of his children survive.

Emilia Henrietta was very devoted to her husband but "she was quite powerless to restrain him from extravagance or check him in his imprudence." "Poor lady, what could she do? She forgot everything as he stood by her side, as she looked up to his face, the face of the idol of her heart, the idol she adored and worshipped with all the fondness of womanhood." Silently undergoing all suffering with her husband she passed away on June 26, 1873, just seventy hours before the death of the poet himself.

The Burial Register of the Lower Circular Road cemetery at Calcutta contains the following entry:—

"26th June 1873. Emelia Henrietta Sophia Dutt, aged 27 years, wife of Michael; buried by J. Lewis and Co., in a *kutchra* grave 23 feet south of Mrs. L. J. MacCarthy's headstone, 5th range of graves, 6th walk south from the 1st gate, south-east quarter. C.R.B.G."

According to the Burial Register she must have been born in the year 1846. If this be correct she must have been married at the age of nine when the poet himself was thirty-one years of age, and her eldest child must have been born when she was thirteen. The age mentioned in the Register must therefore be an error, for it would be absurd to imagine a lady of French extraction marrying at so tender an age. In all probability she was born in the year 1836 and was married to the poet at the age of nineteen dying at the age of thirty-seven. Her grave lies close to the grave of the husband to whom she clung so closely in life.

Strangely enough, beyond a cement plastering over the grave no suitable monument stands to the memory of this devoted Anglo-Indian lady, the loving and faithful wife of the greatest epic poet of Bengal. A great deal has been said about the practice of European or Anglo-Indian ladies marrying Indians, chiefly Bengali gentlemen. Michael Madhu Sudhan Dutt was the first to introduce the custom.

H. W. B. MORENO.

The Buddhist Monastery at Choosery.

HOW many of the English residents of Calcutta are aware that there is a Buddhist monastery and temple at Choosery on the river bank above Howrah? The temple goes by the name of Bhot Mandir, which is merely a corruption of Bhutia Mandir, and the locality is similarly known as Bhot Bagan.

Warren Hastings, as is well known, despatched several missions to Bhutan and Tibet. The first was entrusted to George Bogle who left Calcutta in May 1774, for the purpose of establishing commercial relations with the Deo Rajah of Bhutan and the Teshu Lama. He proceeded by way of Tassisudon in Bhutan and Phari Jong to Desherigpay, north of the Tsan-po river, where he met the Teshu Lama, and accompanied him to Tashilumpo, returning to India in June 1775. A second mission under Bogle was proposed, but it never took place, on account of the departure of the Teshu Lama for Peking, where he died on November 12, 1780. Bogle died in Calcutta on April 3, 1781, and his tomb may be seen in the South Park-street cemetery. Meanwhile two missions were sent to Bhutan under Dr. Hamilton, who had accompanied Bogle. The first of these were despatched in November 1775 and reached Punakha on April 6, and Tassisudon in May 1776. In July 1776 the second mission started to congratulate a new Deo Rajah on his accession and returned in September; Hamilton dying in the year following (1780). On February 12, 1782, the news reached Calcutta that the Teshu Lama had been re-incarnated in the person of an infant, and Hastings resolved to send a fourth mission to Bhutan which was intended to proceed to Tibet. The officer selected was Captain Samuel Turner, a young kinsman of Hastings who was accompanied by Samuel Davis, then a lieutenant of engineers in the Company's service, and Dr. Robert Saunders. The mission started in January 1783 and returned in March 1784. Davis, whom we have already encountered in the pages of *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV. pp. 9—12) as the friend and patron of Thomas and William Daniell, was an excellent artist, and the illustrations in Turner's account of his mission are drawn by him. The sketches are however confined to Bhutan, for the Tibetan Government would not permit Davis to cross the frontier.

The outcome of Bogle's visit was that a friendly mission was sent to Calcutta by the Teshu Lama; and the sequel will appear from the following extracts from the Revenue Board's Proceedings of December 4, 1773 (G. C. P. of same date, pp. 5873.—78) which Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E. has been good enough to transcribe :

* * * * *

"The Governor-General lays before the Board the following translation of a pottah which he has obtained with the consent of the Proprietors for some

ground lying on the other side of the river, in consequence of a request made to him by the Lama in a letter brought from him by Mr. Bogle, in which the Lama requests permission to build a house for a Temple on the Banks of the Ganges.

TRANSLATION.

A pottah from Raj Chand Roy and Kaliprasad Roy and Raghonath Deo the farmer to Puran Gir, agent of Maharajah Tashi Lama for a house and gardens in their taluks, that is the ground etc., called Durree Barbuckpoor in the ten-anna Taraf of Pargana Buchoo, and that called Kismet Susadia in the six-anna Taraf of Pargana Paikan, the same being two mouzahs containing one hundred Beghas and eight cottahs of ground, and the revenue thereof according to the rates of the said ground, inclusive of taxes, amounting as follows to two hundred and ninety-one rupees fifteen annas two gandas and two cowries.

DURREE BARBUCKPOOR

	Bighas.		Rs.	As.	P.
Ryotee	... 58.5.	...	13	9	5
Mohteran (1)	... 1.7.	...	4	1	0
Brick kilns	... 6.8.	...	23	9	12
Goodie Mangun (2)		...	25	0	0
on account of earth dug up by potters.					
	<hr/> 66. <hr/>		<hr/> 198	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 17

KISMET SUSADIA

	Bighas.		Rs.	As.	P.
Ryotee	... 31.8		60	5	5 2
Brick kilns	... 3.	...	12		
Goodie Mangun			21		
	34.8		93	15	2 2
TOTAL	... 100.8		291	15	2 2

(1) A corruption of Mahattran, (মহত্ৰাণ) a Bengali revenue term for land assigned by zemindars to fakirs, sannyasis and other religious persons.—R. B. R.

(2) Goodie Mangun may be translated as contributions in wheat taken by the zemindar. Mangun is the eighteenth century corruption (according to H. H. Wilson) of Mangna, to want, and denotes a demand made on the ryot. Goodie is probably godi, the word used in the Carnatic for wheat. The use of South Indian words as Bengali revenue terms is not uncommon. Examples may be found in the report of the Commission of 1776.—R. B. R.

A pottah is given you for the above ground which you will accordingly make a house and garden upon, and, paying your reverfue year by year, enjoy in security. You will not be subject to any other tax. Upon these conditions

SD/- RAJ CHAND ROY,

KALI PRASAD ROY,

RAGHONATH DEB,

(farmer),

SD/- WILLIAM CHALMER,

Persian Translator to the Khalsa.

Governor-General Grants have been obtained for the lands from the several original proprietors, but as these are subject to an annual rent amounting to Rs. 291-13-2, He recommends it to the consideration of the Board whether the sum may not with propriety be granted as a perpetual free hold to the Lama, as it may serve as an encouragement to the people of that country to resort to Bengal and greatly facilitate the intercourse of trade between the two countries."

It was eventually resolved to refer the matter to the Directors, the Governor-General observing—"I am content to leave it to their determination. In the meantime I shall endeavour to make the grant in its present form as acceptable to the Lama as I can"

The Governor-General had pressed for an immediate decision but the majority were in favour of obtaining the Directors' sanction.

* * * * *

The temple and monastery were built, and the first Mahant was Puran Gir Gossain, a Bengalee who had been sent by the Teshu Lama as head of the mission. He was killed by dacoits during an attack on the monastery, which was reputed to be very rich; and was buried near the great temple. A guest house was erected in the compound for the Bhutanese traders who came down to Calcutta in large numbers. The sacred books and images in the temple were sent by the Teshu Lama.

'Our Library Table.

*Heber's Indian Journal: a Selection, with an introduction by
P. R. Krishnaswami. (Oxford University Press. Rupees Two.)*

Bishop Heber's "Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India" is rightly described by the editor of these selections as one of the source-books of Indian history, and yet the author's experience of India was limited to a period of less than three years. He landed in Calcutta on October 3, 1823, and met his death by accident at Trichinopoly on April 3, 1826. During that brief space of time, however, there was hardly a corner of his vast diocese which went unvisited. He travelled as far north as Delhi, traversed the continent to the western seaboard, did not forget Ceylon, and was touring in Southern India at the time of his death. As we examine Mr. Krishnaswami's table of contents, we shall see at once that there was hardly a subject which did not attract him or upon which he did not find occasion to make an illuminating comment. He was in particular a careful student of architecture and his love of the beauties of nature was equally strong. As an ecclesiastic, it was not to be expected that he would be free from the *odium theologicum*: and he never lost sight of the fact that he had accepted the bishopric of Calcutta in order, as he imagined, to convert the people of India to Christianity. All references to his priestly duties have however been left out by Mr. Krishnaswami who has performed his task with skill and judgment: although there is a curious foot note on page 180 which can easily be construed into a defence of Suttee. In addition to the Journal, certain letters of Heber have been laid under contribution and extracts are also given from Mrs. Heber's Diary. Here and there, of course, Heber went astray. His sympathy for that picturesque freebooter, Trimbakjee Danglia, with whom he conversed in his prison at Chunar, is comprehensible, for he was full of sentimentalism, but it was misplaced. Mountstuart Elphinstone who looked after Trimbakjee's family like a father but refused all applications for release from the man himself, took a far sounder view of the position. The account of Heber's interview with "Swaamee Narain, a Hindu Gooroo," of whom he came to hear at Baroda, affords another glimpse into his character. His interest in this holy person, who is now worshipped as an incarnation of Krishna, cooled down when he discovered "the smallness of his advances beyond the usual limits of Hindooism." Heber's stay in Calcutta was relatively so short that there is not much about the "City of Palaces" in these selections. But it may be observed that Chowringhee in those days had just ceased to be "a mere scattered suburb": and that it was still considered to be outside the city for mention is made of "an

extensive but ruinous bazar which occupies the angle where Calcutta and Chowringhee join." The Esplanade with its many handsome private dwellings and Government House and Town Hall (this last possessing "no other merit than size") reminded the Bishop so forcibly of Petersburg, which he had visited as a young man, that "it was hardly possible for me to imagine myself anywhere else": but behind the Esplanade was "only Tank Square and some other streets occupied by Europeans." Cracks were conspicuous in the best houses, and the equipages on "the course" were disappointing, the horses being small and poor, and the attendants "bespeaking anything but wealth and luxury with their dirty white dresses and bare limbs." •Of Dacca, he writes that it possesses many fine ruins which impressed him at first with a great idea of their age. Among Calcutta notabilities he gives a sketch of Hurree Mohan Thakoor and "Rhadacant Deb, a Hindoo gentleman." The latter we may identify more closely as Rajah Sir Radhakant Deb Bahadur, K.C.S.I., grandson by adoption of Nubkissen, whose bust may be seen in the Town Hall. The former, who was the fourth son of Durpo Narayan Tagore, was uncle of Baboo Prasanna Kumar Tagore, and grand-uncle of Maharajah Bahadur Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I. His son, Uma Nandan Tagore, was dewan of the Export Ware House and is mentioned also in Heber's Journal (1843 edition, Vol. I. p. 57).

The Sannyasis in Mymensingh: by Jamini Mohan Ghosh, B.A., of the Bengal Civil Service. (The Model Library, Dacca and Mymensingh: Rupee One and Annas Four.) •

Warren Hastings writing to his friend Josia Du Pré on March 9, 1773, acquaints him that Bengal "has worn something of a warlike appearance this year, having been infested by a band of Sannyasis": and he proceeds to describe these troublesome folk. "They inhabit," he says, "or rather possess the country lying south of the hills of Tibbet from Cabool to China. They go mostly naked, they have neither towns, houses, nor families: but move continually from place to place recruiting their number with the healthiest children they can steal in the countries through which they pass." Among the districts which they particularly favoured with their unwelcome attentions was Mymensingh: and Baboo Jamini Mohan Ghosh, in this little book, has in the most careful and painstaking manner, collated the various materials available in the District Record-room which relate to the early depredations of these religious marauders. These were of two classes. There were, firstly, those of the nomadic type referred to by Hastings, whose incursions were frequently so formidable as to be dignified by the title of the "Sannyasi rebellion." The other class "settled down in hermitages, which they fortified, and where they combined the trade of money-lending with that of daccity," as the late Mr. E. C. Glasier puts it in his "History of Rungpore."

The descendants of the latter, if such a phrase can be used of a sect of celibates, still own extensive property in the Mymensingh district, which are held in the name of the head monk or Gosain. Some of these were purchased or seized in liquidation of debts: others were handed over by the zemindars themselves as a means of obtaining immunity. It was not until 1791 that Mr. Stephen Bayard, who had established the headquarters of his collectorate at Mymensingh, was able to restore peace to the district.

Indian Historical Records Commission: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting held at Calcutta in January, 1923. (Government of India Press, Calcutta: Rupees Three and Annas Two.)

An account has already been given in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXV, pp. 76-83) of the public portion of the proceedings at the fifth meeting of the Historical Records Commission. The present volume contains, in addition to the full text of the many interesting papers which were read, an official report of the resolutions adopted and recommendations made at the Members' Meeting. It was resolved, *inter alia*, to undertake, with the sanction of the Government of India, an important classification of the Records and to appoint a sub-committee to supervise the work, the object being to separate all documents of admitted historical value, and also of personal and antiquarian interest, from such papers as could not be brought within either category. The question was also discussed as to the best method of making the valuable material in the record-rooms of the Indian States available to students: and the Government of India have been requested to invite His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur to send a representative to attend future meetings of the Commission. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda is already represented, and substantial progress has been made with the listing of the papers in the record-room of his State. A resolution was passed expressing satisfaction at the scheme for the establishment of a Central Judicial Record Office in Calcutta which has been put forward by the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court at Fort William. Reference was also made to the necessity for the better preservation of the old Dutch and Danish records at Chinsurah and Serampore.



" POTT'S FOLLY " AT CULPEE :
MANO BIBIR GHOR.
(From a photograph by Mr. F. W. Shaw).

The Editor's Note Book.

WE are enabled, through the kindness of Mr. S. C. Stuart Williams, the Chairman of the Calcutta Port Trust, to present a reproduction on the opposite page of a photograph taken by Mr. J. W. Shaw, officiating Deputy Chief Engineer of the Trust, of the monument on the riverside at Culpee, which goes locally by the name of Mano Bibir Ghor, and which we have endeavoured to identify as "Pott's Folly," or the monument which, according to William Hickey, was erected by Tiretta, under the instructions of Robert Pott, in memory of Emily Warren, the "Thais" of Sir Joshua Reynolds' well known picture (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 111; Vol. XXVI, p. 83). It appears from enquiries made by Dr. T. O. D. Dunn through officers of the Education Department that there is a story current in the neighbourhood that the monument was put up by a man who lost his wife in a collision at Culpee. Both are said to have been Europeans: and the coffin is supposed to contain treasure. A smaller tomb adjoining is alleged to commemorate their dog. Those who have read the article upon the subject in the first part of this volume will observe that this story differs in essential particulars from those which are there discussed.

It is with the utmost satisfaction that we announce the acquisition for the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection, through the generosity of Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., of the original painting by Zoffany of "The Embassy of Hyderbeck." A full description of the picture was given in our last issue (pp. 1, 2), as well as an account of the circumstances in which it came into the possession of Mr. Francis Edwards, of High Street, Marylebone, London W.1. The thanks of the Trustees have already been conveyed to Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, and we feel sure that their expression of gratitude will be endorsed by every member of the Society.

THE interesting comments by Mr. H. Hobbs on the Company's European regiments, which were published in the last number of *Bengal Past and Present* (pp. 95—97) have given rise to a further series of observations by Mr. C. Grey, a Punjab correspondent, which appeared in the *Statesman* of September 23 last. Mr. Grey corroborates the statement of Mr. Hobbs that the earlier European recruits of the Company were exclusively English and largely taken from London: and that even in later days Englishmen contributed the great majority, as the casualty lists of the rank and file sufficiently indicate. "Until 1785, when the Penal Acts against the Catholics were repealed, only Protestant Irishmen were permitted to enlist: and the first Catholic regiment was the Irish Brigade, raised by Irish officers who had been in the French service, and disbanded after

Waterloo." It was not, however, until 1820 or thereabouts that Irishmen joined up at all freely, and even then their number was nothing like as great as is sometimes so easily assumed. Competition with the King's army being forbidden, the Company was driven to stimulate recruiting by high bounties, of which the crimp took the lion's share, for crimping was rampant. Foreigners were largely accepted, and Eyre Coote took as his bodyguard a company of Frenchmen who had been captured on service in India. The ranks were also filled by deserters and fugitives from justice. Warley in Essex was the Company's depot in the early days of the nineteenth century, and it used to be said that the rule was to ask recruits whether they wanted to go out in the first boat or not, in case they had taken "French leave" from a King's regiment and had an urgent reason for speedy departure. Sergeants from the King's regiments were always present at embarkations, but they often had good grounds for failing to identify.

MR. GREY adds some details regarding the low standard of the recruits. The men raised for the three cavalry regiments in the Company's service were of specially small stature and were mounted on country bred horses. The maximum height was 5 feet 4 inches: and the men were in consequence nicknamed the "Dumpy Pice." It was supposed that they were provided with ladders and mounted to the command "down ladders and mount." These cavalry regiments became the 19th and 20th Hussars and the 21st Lancers.

THE question of uniform was comparatively simple. When William Hickey was nominated to a cadetship on the Madras establishment in 1768, he was taken to the India House and introduced to Mr. Coggan, "one of the Company's principal officers." That gentleman gave him a printed list of necessaries for a writer, "observing that most of the articles should be equally useful to a military man, if in addition a few yards of scarlet, blue, green, and yellow cloths were taken, in order to make up regimentals according to the corps to which he might be attached, the infantry wearing scarlet, but with different facings of blue, yellow, and green, the artillery, like His Majesty's, blue with scarlet facings, and the engineers scarlet faced with black velvet." These details will help us to understand the meaning of such phrases as "Lieutenant of the Yellow" which occurs in the following announcement in one of the numbers of Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*: "February 26, 1780.—Married last Saturday at Cossimbazar the Hon'ble David Anstruther, Lieutenant of the Yellow, to Miss Donaldson of that place, a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments."

WE are indebted to Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, Principal of the Hooghly College, for a valuable note on Charles Croftes, who forms the subject of a reference on page 148 of Vol. XXV of *Bengal Past and Present*. How, he asks, did Croftes come to

earn the nickname of "Idle Charley," by which he is known in Hickey's *Gazette*? He was apparently the best trained accountant in the Company's service, and was continually being called upon to examine accounts, such as those of the Bank, at the Board's request. Moreover, he was specially selected as Accountant-General by Hastings, in 1772. In the minutes of the Committee of Circuit (MS. in Record Office, pp. 275—288) regulations for conducting the general superintendence of the revenue collections at the Presidency were laid down. They created a "Board of Revenue," enumerated the duties of the Roy Royan, and enacted that a "Company's covenanted servant with a competent staff of assistants be appointed to the office of Accomptant-General of the Dewanny." The officer chosen for the post was "Mr. Charles Croftes whose diligence and practice in that business . . . justly entitle him to that important charge." Four years later, he was nominated as a member of the important Committee of 1776 which conducted a most important enquiry, based on actual local investigation, into the revenue-paying capacity of the province. The work which thus devolved upon him required a competent knowledge of accounts "in the Bengallese and Persian languages." These facts do not point to an indolent officer.

SIR HENRY COTTON writes of Croftes in his *Revenue History of Chittagong* that the character of his work as Chief of Chittagong (an office which he held from February, 1785 until his death in September 1786) was "laborious and conscientious, although not altogether such as might be expected from his experience and ability," and that "his letters are a marvel of circumlocution," while "his deference to authority and respect for the Revenue Committee is remarkable." A full account of the career of Croftes will be found on pp. 288—289 of the annotated edition of Grand's Narrative (published by the Calcutta Historical Society in 1910). But it contains one error which Mr. Ramsbotham corrects. Croftes is described as having been sub-treasurer in 1774. "I do not understand," writes Mr. Ramsbotham, "how the Accountant-General of 1772-1773 could have become the sub-treasurer of 1774: nor can any mention of such an officer be found in the revenue records of the Board's Proceedings from 1772 to 1775, which I have examined."

MENTION is made in the first volume of Hickey's *Memoirs* (pp. 288—292) of a younger brother of Croftes who was in command of a troop in Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, when Hickey met him in London in the summer of 1773. Becoming involved in a scuffle at Vauxhall with the Rev. Henry Bate, the first Editor of the *Morning Post* (afterwards known as Sir Henry Bate Dudley), Captain Croftes substituted a pugilist for himself when a meeting took place between the parties the next day. Bate gave the pugilist a thorough drubbing: but the officers of Croftes' regiment took a more serious view of the matter. He was obliged to sell out, and joined his brother in Bengal. There "an honourable and ad-

vantageous situation " was obtained for him at the Court of the Nawab Vizier at Lucknow : but a year had barely elapsed before he quarrelled at a convivial dinner with a Dr. Murchison, and was shot dead in the duel which followed.

ANOTHER interesting note comes from Mr. Ramsbotham upon the habit attributed by Hickey to Lord Cornwallis of insisting that the corks should be replaced in the bottles during the circulation of the wine at table (see page 29 of the first part of the present volume). He offers the following explanation. The wine would probably be Madeira or port, as claret or Burgundy would be decanted into silver-lidded decanters. It is a common custom at Oxford that all port or Madeira decanted for use in the senior and junior common-rooms shall be sent to table with the glass stopper of the decanter removed and the cork of the bottle from which it has been decanted inserted in its place. In any case, when any old vintage wine is decanted, the practice is to submit the cork for inspection. If it be argued that the wine was drawn from the wood, the answer will be that Lord Cornwallis objected to the flies clustering round the mouth of the decanter.

WITH reference to the article on William Hickey's Houses in Calcutta, which will be found in Part I of the present volume (pp. 31—35) it has been pointed out to us that the following document exists in the Calcutta Collectorate (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIV., pp. 168—109):

William Hickey's Houses
in Calcutta.

No. 1504. 30th September and 1st October 1782—Relates to an upper-roomed house and ground near Champaul Grant and directly facing the New Fort and the next house adjoining to the house known as Mr. Massey's formerly the property of James Ogden and afterwards sold by the Sheriff at public outcry to Rampersaud Chaund. Richardson McVeagh and Robert Robertson make over the property to William Martin for Sicca Rs. 9,000.

This was Hickey's first residence in Calcutta—a cutcha building in which he lived with his old shipmate Cleveland, an assistant surgeon, from January to May, 1778. James Ogden was a pilot. He died on January 7, 1782, and his widow May Ogden married Hugh Darley at St. John's Church on February 11, 1784. With reference to Mrs. Brightman, the landlady of the house " in a central part of the town and not far distant from the Court House " which Hickey rented in August, 1783, see ante., page 159. •

WHEN did their Lordships of the Supreme Court move from the Old Court House in Tank Square which stood on the site of the "New Court House." St. Andrew's Kirk, to the building on the Esplanade, which served their purpose until the erection of the present High Court in 1864? We shall find the answer in the note-books of Mr. Justice Hyde.

January 2, 1782.—We sat this day for the first time at the New Court House, which has been taken by the Company for the use of the Court at the monthly rent of Rs. 2,500. This New Court House is near Chand Paul Ghat and is near the road which bounds the Esplanade on the one side. The house is the property of Archibald Keir, Esq. and is let by him to the Company for five years.

The building was less spacious than the High Court, which has absorbed in addition three private residences—including, it may be, the one occupied by William Hickey from July, 1784 until his departure from Calcutta in 1808. Archibald Keir, the landlord, had betaken himself to Europe three years earlier by the *Sir William Bensley* Indiaman which sailed in January 1805. He had come out in 1753 as surgeon of the *Godolphin* and served three years in the Madras Presidency. Accompanying the relief force to Fulta in 1757, he received a commission as lieutenant and acted as Secretary to the Council. In 1758 he resigned the service, being then a captain, and returned to Europe: but found his way back as a free merchant, and in 1779 purchased mines at Ramghur in Chota Nagpore from the local Rajah. He published in 1771 a pamphlet entitled "Observations on the Present State of the East India Company" and "Thoughts on the Affairs of Bengal" in the following year.

THE historian of the future will thank the anonymous contributor of the article in the *Statesman* of November 14 on the Changing Social Observances in Calcutta. changes he has witnessed in social observances in Calcutta since he clambered up the slippery banks of the Hooghly some twenty years ago. In old days the "griffin" was, he says, taken in hand and provided with a temporary home by some burra sahib until he had had time to accustom himself to his new surroundings. Calling in state on Sunday morning between the hours of twelve and two was then the fashion. A first class phaeton would be engaged, and shared between several. A morning coat and a top hat were essential by way of costume: but often one top hat would do duty for all, and while one went in to pay his respects the other would wait under the portico or the shade of some neighbouring tree. Nowadays cards are dropped in boxes at all hours of the day; and if a *chokra* is invited to dinner, he is obliged perforce to introduce himself to his host and hostess. Calcutta too has become a city of flat-dwellers, and invitations to stay are rare for the simple reason that there is no accommodation to offer. The old "qui-hye" may well look back with regret to the days when a man could live on his pay and a generous measure of hospitality was the rule in Anglo-India.

In the article on "Mymensingh Collectorate Records," which was published in the first part of the present volume (pp. 79 to 82) Contoo Baboo and Bhulluah. Mr. Jamini Mohan Ghosh observed that during the early British period the jurisdiction of the Collector of Mymensingh extended as far as Bhulluah, the present district of Noakhali.

Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., points out that this pargana of Bhulluah was one of those farmed by Contoo Baboo, the famous banian of Warren Hastings: and that it was the subject of a special enquiry made by the Committee of Revenue in the latter half of the year 1775. Mr. William Wodsworth (who subsequently served the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in 1777) was deputed by the vote of the majority (Clavering, Monson and Francis) to enquire into the collections of revenue there and at Amberabad, a neighbouring pargana. He presented his report in November 1775. It furnishes an illuminating comment on the enormous profits made by the zamindars and farmers: for it showed that Contoo Baboo appropriated fifty-five per cent. of the amount actually collected, while the Government drew about forty-five per cent.

MR. J. J. COTTON, of the Madras Civil Service, writes from Paris on September 19: We made the pilgrimage to the tomb of Madam Grand at Montparnasse, and I was allowed to copy the *acte d'inhumation* which, I think, has never before been published. It runs as follows:

Préfecture du département de la Seine.
no. du cadastre, 164.

Il est accordé une concession de deux mètres de terrain dans le cimetière du sud à M. Charles Meurice prince de Talleyrand demeurant à Paris, rue St. Florentin, no. 2. pour y faire la sépulture particulière et perpétuelle de Mme. Catharine Noel Worlée. princesse de Talleyrand, sa femme, décédée le 10 du courant, rue de Lille no. 87.

Paris le 11 xbre 1835.

Le Conseiller d'Etat. Préfet de la Seine.

Comte de Rambuteau.

Le chef du Bureau Meunier.

Talleyrand's old residence is now the Ministry of Marine, and his wife's house in private occupation. The tomb is bare and unadorned; in fact, it is no tomb at all, but an oblong patch of two metres square enclosed by a low iron railing. We enquired of a sculptor what it would cost to put up a commemorative tablet in marble, and were told that the price would be sixty-eight francs, or less than a sovereign at the present rate of exchange. I suggest that the Calcutta Historical Society should undertake the duty: but an authorization must first be obtained from the Préfet de la Seine. The grave is thus located: 2nd division, 1st section, 7 north by 16 west, No. 734, year 1835. The guide found it for us with difficulty.

THE tradition is persistent that one of the wives of Akbar was a Christian: and two of the pictures shown at the exhibition organized in Calcutta in January last in connexion with the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission were stated to represent Mariam Begum. The first, which was lent by Mr. A. Stephen, pur-

Akbar's Christian Wife.

ported to be a portrait of Akbar and Mariam : and the second, which is the property of Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, was a portrait of the Begum alone, who, in each case, is wearing a cross round her neck. "W. N. H." writing in the *Statesman* of October 28, refers to the story which ascribes a Portuguese origin to her and asserts that she is buried at Secundra close to the tomb of Akbar himself. He points out however that there is no mention of such a lady in the chronicles of Abul Fazl and Badaoni, or, indeed in the works of any historian of the period, and that the presence of the cross is easily explained by the fact that the various Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar distributed many such. The wives of Akbar were four in number : Sultana Rajmahal Begum, the daughter of his uncle Hindal, by whom he had no children : Sultana Salima Begum, a grand-daughter of Babar, who was a poetess : Nur Jahan, the "Istambol Begum" : and Jodhbai, the Rajput princess, who was the mother of Salim or Jehangir.

ALLUSION has already been made in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV. A Contented Civilian. p. 37: Vol. XXV. p. 95) to Catherine Hampden Hoppner, the strangely-named son of John Hoppner, R.A., the famous portrait-painter, who was in the Company's service in Bengal from 1804 to 1823. The following extract from the Farington Diary not only gives us a glimpse of him in India, but throws a light upon the conditions of service at the time which were clearly very different from the days when civilians in the mofussil grew rich by private commercial speculations of their own :—

July 1, 1810.—Mrs. Hoppner told me Her Son, Hampden Hoppner, is now situated at a station near Decca, in the country above Calcutta, and has about £700 a yr., and His next advance will be to the rank of a Judge. He will then be able to save money. He now lives upon his income, Has no debts, and His Character is excellent. Excepting being separated from His relations, He is well pleased with His situation : likes the Europeans he meets with, but does not like the natives.

The "Station near Decca" is Backergunge, where Hoppner served as "Register of the Dewanny Adawlut and assistant to the Magistrate" from July 1, 1809 to September 21, 1810, when he was transferred to the Presidency as Deputy Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties. His first station was at Bhaugulpore where he was posted on October 4, 1805 as "assistant to the Register and second assistant to the Magistrate," and where he spent nearly four years. On November 24, 1815, he became Judge and Magistrate of the Jungle Mehals, and returned to Calcutta on October 23, 1818, as Judge and Magistrate of the Twenty Four Pergunnahs. He proceeded to Europe on January 30, 1823, having remained continuously in India since his arrival on December 1, 1804 : and was "out of the service" in 1828.

THE following list of Directors of the Dutch Factory at Chinsurah is given in Mr. O'Malley's Hooghly District Gazetteer (1912, p. 65): Matthias Van der Broucke (1658-1604), Martinus Huysman (1634), Willem de Ros (1706), Antonius Huysman (1712), Vuist (1724), Patras (1726-1727), J. A. Sichterman (1744), Huygens (1749), Louis Taillefert (1754), J. Kersébom (1754), Adrian Bisdorn (1754-1759), George Louis Vernet (1764-1770), Johannes Matthias Ross (1730), Pieter Brueys (1783), Isaac Titsingh (1789), J. A. van Braam (1817), and Daniel Overbeck (1818-1825). The author of "Asiaticus: in two Parts," whose identity was discussed in our last issue (pp. 3-12) by Mr. Oldham, visited Bandel and Chinsurah in January 1803, and spent six days there. In a note on page 48 he enables us to fill up some of the gaps in the list.

Mr. Vernet succeeded Mr. Taillefer as Governor of Chinsurah in January or February, 1764. Mr. Vernet lived with great hospitality and in a very elegant style until February 1770, when he gave up his charge to Mr. Faure, a gentleman who was sent from Batavia. Mr. Faure was seized with the small pox in April or May that year, which proved fatal. He was succeeded by Mr. Bacheracht, a very worthy and respectable man, who continued Governor of Chinsurah until February 1777, when he went to Batavia, where, it is supposed, he lost his life by the unhealthiness of that place.

The hatchments of "the Worshipful Mr. Boudewyn Verselcwel Faure" and his wife are in the Church at Chinsurah (See article in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 124). Mention is also made of the grave in Chinsurah cemetery of a Director-designate, Cornelis de Jonge, "in Syn Ed: leeven gedesigneerd Director deser Directie," who died on October 10, 1743. It is to be noticed that "Asiaticus" found fifteen "escutcheons" in the church whereas the number now is fourteen.

MR. FRANCIS EDWARDS writes: The writer of the article on "Memories of A D'Oyly Legend. Dum Dum" (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 35-38) may be glad to know, with reference to the D'Oyly Legend which he quotes, that an account of the wreck of the "Charles Eaton" in the Torres Straits and of Charles D'Oyly's stay among the natives of Murray Island is given in a little book by W. E. Brockett, published in 1836 at Sydney, and entitled "Narrative of a Voyage from Sydney to Torres Straits, in search of the Survivors of the 'Charles Eaton' in H. M. Schooner 'Isabella'." The book is rare.

905/BEN



90175

